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A Revelation of The Chinese Revolution



JOHN J. MULLOWNEY

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**A Revelation of the Chinese
Revolution**



General Hwang Hsing

THE CHURCH OF
THE HOLY TRINITY

RECTOR
J. H. B. B. B.

CHURCH OF THE HOLY TRINITY

CHURCH OF THE HOLY TRINITY
J. H. B. B. B.

CHURCH OF THE HOLY TRINITY



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A Revelation of the Chinese Revolution

*A RETROSPECT
AND FORECAST*

By a Chinese Compatriot

Edited by
JOHN J. MULLOWNEY, M. D.

ILLUSTRATED.



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Preface

THE purpose of this little volume is to give the people of the West a true pen-picture of the real Leader of the recent Chinese Revolution, General Hwang Hsing ; to contrast his personality, character, and methods with those of that other prominent figure of modern China, Yuan Shi-kai ; to protest against the despotic methods of one who calls himself " President," but who functions as a Dictator ; and to urge that all well-wishers of China shall lend their sympathy, their moral, and where possible, their active support to those who are striving to promote Enlightenment and Progress in China.

The information given in these pages has been gathered first hand, and is vouched for by men whose word can be depended upon. These men have had unusual opportunities to learn what are the conditions, the needs, the problems, the dangers, and the aspirations of the present-day Chinese people. In their former positions, as government officials under the Manchus, and as sympathizers with General Hwang Hsing and other Leaders of the Revolution, they have had intimate knowledge not only of the Manchu's methods, but also of Yuan Shi-kai's methods and ambitions ; and, from

years of careful observation and contact with all sides of the present struggle, possess a very keen insight into the present situation in China. I have not sought to materially alter or eliminate certain forms of expression which readers will easily recognize as reflective of the Oriental mind of the author. He is a man of high honour and integrity and is here permitted to state his facts in his own way.

This word, however, I desire to add: By virtue of over three years spent in the Capital of China, Peking, before and during the Revolution, and having assisted in organizing the first Red Cross Corps in North China, and having gone to the front during the Revolution, I am in a position to confirm practically all the statements made in this book.

It is hoped that this little volume may do much to inform Western people of the true conditions of affairs in China, and help to bring our people to a better understanding of the great Chinese people—their struggles, aspirations and possibilities.

Some one has well said that if men knew each other they would neither idolize nor hate. May our strong, virile, wealthy Republic of the West encourage and strengthen the new, gigantic Republic of the East in her righteous and laudable endeavour to bring Social Justice and true Democracy to her millions of human souls.

JOHN J. MULLOWNEY.

Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

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I

THE REAL HERO OF THE REVOLUTION

HISTORY is man's greatest instructor, and if its pages are approached with a mind unbiased by the prejudices of the times, and with a conscientious desire to learn the lessons that it has to impart, the student is enabled to see the end from the beginning in every event. From the nature of every movement one is enabled to predict with certainty the result. If the animating purpose be elevated, one can be sure of its ultimate triumph.

Look at the great struggle for British liberty under Oliver Cromwell; and at the patriotic fervour that was voiced by Patrick Henry, as he thundered forth the key-note of American Independence: "Is life so dear or peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take, but, as for me, give me liberty or give me death." And still again, look at the Anti-Slavery movement which took its humble

origin in a tiny up-stairs room of Boston, where William Lloyd Garrison poured forth those stirring articles in the insignificant sheet, *The Liberator*. The beginning was so very unpretentious that a contemporary said that he had found a poor young man eating, sleeping, and printing this sheet in an obscure hole. But what was the result? A whole nation was aroused and the people of the world were inflamed with the zeal and conviction of that just cause. Over four millions of downtrodden humanity were given the blessings of Liberty. History's innumerable examples of struggles for the liberty of mankind, for its progress and improvement, show that no movement led by leaders who had a conviction, a purpose and a determination, has ever failed. History repeats itself. A stone on the mountain top, set rolling, will never stop until it reaches its destination.

So it is with the Chinese Revolution. Has the Chinese Revolution succeeded? Will it succeed in finally reaching a goal in accordance with the spirit and aim of its beginning? The answers to these momentous questions are not only vital to the four hundred millions of China's inhabitants, but are of world-wide importance. The determining factors of success of every great movement are the

nature of the cause, the character, and determination of its Leaders.

Hwang Hsing, the Motive Power

In every upheaval that transforms a nation, there are many heroes and patriots who are instrumental in bringing it about; men through whose determined efforts of months and years the movement gathers impetus, until it finally carries everything before its irresistible progress. In the recent Chinese Revolution, the Manchu Dynasty, though deeply rooted during a period of nearly three centuries of Despotism, was swept out of existence, and the first Republic of the Orient established within the short period of less than one hundred days. Such a transition, affecting the welfare of over one-fourth of the human race, can but be viewed as one of the most important events of modern history. The great Republic of China is, to-day, recognized by the Community of Nations.

In reviewing the great Revolution in China one is puzzled, as he weighs each person who has come into prominence and finds him wanting: failing to discover the one who had the force of character, the determination of purpose, the organizing genius and the unselfish consecration of self for the public good sufficient to have effected such changes.

But truth will out. Through the distance and obscurity, one personality is gradually coming to its own. Much credit has been given to Sun Yat-sen for his share in bringing about the great transformation, and much credit is due him. But the world will yet learn that even greater credit must be accorded to the man whose complete abnegation of self has been the actuating spring of the great movement. Without a careful knowledge of the motive power of any machinery, we cannot pronounce upon its efficiency and endurance. So without an intimate acquaintance with the source of inspiration of any great national movement, one cannot predict the ultimate issue thereof. The burning questions of the day to which the world's interests demand an answer are: Has China really succeeded in attaining the goal of her ambition, and has she settled down to pursue her purpose in peace? Or, is her past effort a partial success only, and will she be able to attain a success compatible with the early spirit of the Revolution?

The vital interest of China, as well as that of the world, requires that the character, aims, and history of the real Hero of the great drama that has been enacted shall be placed before the public. Perchance this revelation may help in answering

some vital questions as to the destiny of the people of the Orient.

To whom belongs the honour of holding and swaying the multitude? By whose determination and power have the vast millions of China chiefly been prepared for the great transforming scene that the world has just witnessed? Of one man it can be said (as Gladstone said of Washington) that if among all the pedestals supplied by the recent history of the Chinese Revolution for character of extraordinary ability, elevation of purpose, patriotism and untiring effort, one is higher than all the rest, it is the pedestal raised to the honour of Hwang Hsing. An examination of this man's history helps greatly to answer those perplexing questions about the future of the new-born Republic, for in him the destiny of China is wrapped up.

People of the West may have heard of Hwang Hsing as the defeated General of Nanking who led "The Punitive Expedition Against Yuan Shi-kai," but the world has not heard that he was the towering figure, the life and mainspring of the movement that dethroned the Manchu Emperor and uprooted that despotic rule from the Flowery Kingdom. The retreat of Hwang Hsing from Nanking was as "Xenophon's retreat of ten thousand, outshining

the conquest of Alexander ;" as the retreat of Sir John Moore to Corunna as compared with the victories of Wellington ; certainly far more glorious was it than the wanton devastation and the scourging of his Fatherland by Yuan Shi-kai.

Biography of Hwang Hsing

Hwang Hsing was born in 1875 in Hunan Province, near its capital. This province is situated in the central portion of China, south of the Yangtse River. From its beautiful hillsides have come some of China's most celebrated generals and statesmen, among whom Hwang Hsing takes second place to none. He is endowed in the amplest measure with those sterling qualities which characterized his ancestors. During youth he was deeply impressed by Western ideas. Modern learning has ever had an advocate in him and it has had a warm place in his heart. He studied and graduated with honours from that famous College, The Leung Hu Shih Yuen, established under the auspices of Viceroy Chang Chih-tung, who spared nothing to equip this great State College, of the two Hu Provinces, with the amplest facilities for the study of European and American arts and sciences. In his school days he was delighted with the broad and liberal policies of the West, as contrasted with

Oriental lethargy and stagnation. At college the desire seized him to reform his country, and henceforth to consecrate himself to the elevation of his people. The sceptre of the Empire of China had fallen to the Manchus, who, in accordance with their despotic policy, were anxious to keep the Chinese, the Han subjects, in ignorance and subjection; they resorted to every conceivable pretext to hold them in the bonds of lethargy. Confucian Conservatism was an enforced study, while the liberal and progressive doctrines of Western peoples were discountenanced. Christians and educated men of America and Europe were looked upon with suspicion, fearing that their just and broad principles of human equity and justice might leaven the loaf, and induce a rebellion against their narrow and enervating policy. The Manchus favoured in their heart of hearts every manifestation of anti-foreign movement among the people, and allowed such outrages to humanity as brought scores of years of burden and woe to the Chinese, as witness the Boxer outbreak. Corruption was wide-spread and real talent kept down on every hand through the jealousy of their rulers, and these deplorable conditions were being augmented as each year rolled by, so that the people were writhing under the

malignant and destructive policy of their rulers. All these facts made an indelible impression on the mind of the youthful patriot and future liberator of his people. He had strong convictions that the time had passed for China to again bar the door to foreign enterprise and intercourse, and that for his country to relapse supinely into seclusion would bring final disaster. Thus we see that the enlightened aims and lofty ambitions of Hwang Hsing were founded upon solid ground. But what character, spirit and enterprise do we find in him to assure of the final triumph?

Nothing speaks more forcibly than deeds. Let us give a short and concise résumé of his enterprises and endeavours ere venturing to prophesy the heights which Hwang Hsing may finally reach.

Upon his graduation from the State College, he was imbued with an intense enthusiasm to reform his country; and to carry out the mighty reforms he proposed, he appreciated the fact that he must have the coöperation of many compatriots, who would lend the necessary assistance. But to his disappointment he found lamentably few of his fellow men who were willing to exert themselves to further the cause that was burning in his breast.

Such an obstacle would have depressed a less man than Hwang Hsing. Whole-souled he plunged into the task of infusing into his associates the enthusiasm which in him had no bounds. He went to Japan to meet the thousands of Chinese students who were studying there. In order to come into closer touch with the students he matriculated at the Tokio University. He lost no chance to associate with every person of worth and promise. After graduating from the University he returned to Hunan and established the Ming Yuk and the King Ching Schools, over which he personally presided. The names given to these schools are characteristically Chinese and suggestive, the first meaning "Illustrious Virtue" and the second, "Reformation." In a remarkably short time he had gathered about him sufficient adherents to excite the jealous and vigilant eye of the government. Henceforth, he was persecuted and chased from place to place. To a man less courageous such persecution would have been an insuperable barrier, but to him it was only an incentive to more active and drastic measures.

To him the pointing finger of Providence was plain. The writing on the wall of fate clearly proclaimed that Despotism must perish and

Democracy win the day in China. Hwang Hsing was henceforth a full-fledged Revolutionist boldly advocating Republicanism for China. He worked steadfastly to increase the number of adherents from the gentry and military classes of Hunan, thus courting the order for his arrest by the Government. In 1906 he had to flee for his life to Shanghai. In Shanghai he was arrested, but upon the assumption of a fictitious name he was liberated and escaped to Japan. Thrown again into the field of his former labours, we find him giving full vent to his organizing genius.

Thus far he had had to face a nation of four hundred millions in the educational field, but now he had to cope with the armed forces of the Chinese Empire. To accomplish the reformation and the elevation of his people necessitated the sweeping away of the system that had so long obstructed and undermined the industrial and intellectual growth of the nation. He realized that extensive coöperation was indispensable to the herculean task he had set himself to perform. The ideal ever before him was the most civilized revolution possible. He desired to avoid all unnecessary carnage and plunder. In order to accomplish the overthrow of the Manchus by a comparatively bloodless revolu-

tion he organized, first, the Tung Ming Hui or the "Association of Compatriots," second, he established and edited a paper named *The Min Pau*, or *The Nationalist*, for the purpose of leading the people to a right appreciation of their duties as citizens, and in order to be able to attack the corruption and evils of the Manchu régime. Third, he organized systematic methods of working and coöperating with the military classes in China ; never failing to urge them to show to the world that China could conduct a thoroughly civilized Revolution, through which foreign residents and non-combatants were held sacred and inviolable. And, in anticipation of the personal part that he must play in the great drama, he applied himself with assiduous zeal to the study of military tactics under military officers in Japan. He made a special study of the manufacture of explosives and implements of war, and also organized the Chun-Sze Pin Tsau Pu or "The Deliberating Council of Military Affairs," which embraced among its members most of the military talent of "Young China."

About this time Dr. Sun Yat-sen arrived in Japan from Europe. Hwang Hsing found him very congenial and in hearty sympathy with his plans. With characteristic Chinese courtesy,

Hwang Hsing urged Sun Yat-sen to become the President of their Association, while he himself acted as its Vice-President. Very soon the Association could count among its members nearly all the University and College Chinese graduates of Europe, America and Japan. Sympathy for the movement spread far and wide, not only within the confines of China, but among Chinese of every clime. Henceforth, every editor and every instructor of importance was lined up with Hwang Hsing and his organization, and began to preach and reiterate the need for Change, Reform and Progress, if their Fatherland was to be saved. The Manchu Dynasty was shaken to the very Throne ; but instead of turning from the errors of its way and carrying out the Reforms that the people demanded, the Government set for its task the ruthless and total annihilation of the Reformers. It is indeed deplorable that so many of the brightest minds paid the penalty of their patriotic zeal by forfeiting their heads and to-day fill a patriot's grave. Thus far the Reformers had relied upon the pen as their weapon, while the Government replied with whetted swords and whizzing bullets. But the time of reckoning was fast approaching !

Organization of the "Dare-to-Dies"

The Revolutionary leaders, distressed by the loss of their compatriots and tired of the ineffectiveness of persuasion, formed themselves into a "Dare-to-Die" band. Hwang Hsing, at the head of about one hundred of these determined "Braves," commenced a long and arduous campaign, and raised the standard in Chao Chow, Yin Chow, Lin Chow and throughout the Kuangtung Province; Chen Nan Kwan in Kiangsi Province; and Ho Kau in Yunnan Province and some minor places. The dangers, hardships and privations through which they sometimes passed were thrilling; with his small band of faithful "Dare-to-Dies" he often had to engage an enemy of much larger number; it was a miracle that any of that brave band ever came through to tell of their exploits. The results obtained were worth the sacrifice. Men of every grade of thought gave unstinted admiration and praise to the determined and brave patriots; and those sympathetically inclined found in their exploits a confidence and stimulus which led them to cast their lot with the Revolutionaries.

The strict observance of the rights and sanctity of non-combatants and foreigners was religiously adhered to from the very beginning, which gave

a new tone to the whole movement. The odds against Hwang Hsing at that particular time were so great that certain defeat was the inevitable result, but his followers seemed to have been imbued with the truth which Byron propounded :

**"They never fail who die in a great cause.
Failures are but the pillars of success."**

Hwang Hsing Leads the "Dare-to-Dies"

Of all his exploits, probably none are so familiar to the foreigner as that undertaken in the very heart of Canton, the capital of the Kuangtung Province, on the 27th day of April, 1911.

Here in the greatest emporium of the Orient, the Government troops were stationed in anticipation of Hwang Hsing's coming ; who, at the head of his little band of "Dare-to-Dies," actually undertook the conquest of that great capital ! Where in all history do we find such daring enterprise and steadfastness to purpose excelled ? These brave "Dare-to-Dies" actually stormed and took the Viceroy's yamen. But alas ! at what great cost ! Reinforcements which were to have come failed to arrive. This brave band had to abandon its position of vantage at the approach of night, and to cut its way through a dense mass of soldiery to

freedom. As one can easily imagine, nearly the whole band was either captured or killed. Hwang Hsing, with several wounds and minus two fingers, made a most miraculous escape.

This band comprised the flower of Young China's youth. Among its members were the highly educated and many graduates of European and American Institutions. How touching were the last words of those captured, as their heads were laid upon the executioner's block. An eyewitness of those executions has said that they all died like men. And one, when asked to abandon his Revolutionary principles with the promise of a pardon, replied : "That I cannot do, but if you turn not from the evils of your way, you grovelling serfs of an alien master, prepare your necks for the same fate, for I see the time of reckoning is nigh. What ! Entice me with pardon ? What good is your pardon if its acceptance conscience condemns ? Afraid to die ? No ! I court death, rather than accept such servitude ! Now, dispatch me ; I loathe to tarry behind my brave comrades, and defile my sight and hearing with such as have not the manhood to assert that they are free men !"

The world will be blind indeed if it does not reckon among its great ones such martyrs who miss

the palms, but not the pains, of martyrdom—heroes without laurels, and conquerors without the jubilation of triumph. Even the Manchus recognized the bravery of these youths, for they ordered their remains to be removed to the “Yellow Flower Hill,” near Canton, where a cemetery was dedicated to them, which is known as “The Sacred Resting Place of the Seventy Heroes.”

After this withering blast of fortune, and stripped of his faithful followers, it is most interesting to see the effect that such reverses had upon Hwang Hsing. Taking into consideration the fact that he had been severely wounded and his right hand maimed forever, most men would have given up under such misfortune. But not so with him. He is made of sterner stuff, and the loss of and grief for his compatriots acted as a stimulus to further exertions and more daring deeds.

To a careless observer it might seem that the Province of Kuangtung was the only place that the Revolutionaries had in view, and that might lead a strategist to think that Hwang Hsing lacked forethought; for he would say: “Kuangtung, being in the extreme South, is useless as a basis for such a great movement, and therefore it is a waste of time and energy to try to occupy it.” But not so; Hwang

Hsing had been preparing Hupeh, Hunan, Kiangsi, Shanghai, Szechuan, Manchuria, Anhui, Nanking, Yunnan and other centres; he had ordered his Compatriots in these places to abide the time when he should start operations in Canton, for then the energy and attention of the Government would be directed thereto, and opportunity would be given for the other provinces to make a general uprising.

Other Provinces are Given the Opportunity to Declare Independence

Immediately after Hwang Hsing had focused attention on Canton we find him hurrying to Hupeh. On the 28th of October, 1911, we find him there as Field-Marshal of the Revolutionary forces; and the world realized that a real Revolution was under way in China. For the first time in history, Chinese Revolutionaries solemnly observed all the conditions of civilized armies; the nations were formerly notified that non-combatants, foreigners and their property would be held inviolate. Foreign treaties and obligations were strictly observed, and other similar enlightened and civilized provisions were carried out.

It was understood that Hwang Hsing was to come to take command of the Hupeh forces when neces-

sity demanded it, but as the distance was great and traffic somewhat disorganized during that stirring period, the Revolutionaries had no leaders for a period of eighteen days. Circumstances made it imperative to have a temporary head; the Hupeh "Compatriot Party" decided that for diplomatic reasons such a one should be chosen from among the old Mandarinate. This vital question being settled, the next step was to decide on whom to choose for their leader until Hwang Hsing's arrival. This was not an easy matter as the whole horde of Mandarins had fled for their dear lives.

Li Yuan-hung Not the Real Leader

At the outbreak of the Revolution, Li Yuan-hung, who was then an insignificant officer of the Manchu forces, sent against the Revolutionists, was accidentally found by a band of Compatriots hiding in a deserted peasant's hovel. The leadership was forced upon him, but he proved a coward, for instead of coming forth in power and majesty to take command, he remained crouched and trembling in seclusion. For days he suffered the tortures of fear, and men had to mount guard over him to prevent his fleeing. It was not until the victories of the Revolutionary army in Hupeh were sounded

throughout the world that Li Yuan-hung got some semblance of courage and manhood. The world was astonished at the boldness, wisdom, justice and patriotic fervour of the manifestoes that were issued from the Revolutionary headquarters. No one could believe that the heart that guided, the head that planned, and the hand that executed were of an ordinary type. The trembling leader, Li Yuan-hung, who was thought by the world to be the author of the manifestoes, was hailed as an exemplary patriot, the soul of bravery, and the "Liberator" of his people! How grand, how eloquent were the praises that the editorial world, both Chinese and foreign, sang and resang. But truth will out. The world demands that we give credit to whom credit is due. Let not those who know not the facts think that the above words are too harsh on Li Yuan-hung. Let it be said in justice to him, however, that he was ever a boon companion in the camp, and as the Revolutionists wanted, at the time, a figurehead, they could indeed have made a worse choice.

Even after the arrival of Hwang Hsing from the South, the Revolutionists continued to attach the name of Li Yuan-hung to their manifestoes; the Chinese who knew him wondered what had trans-

formed him to such heights of patriotic fervour, eloquence and power. In a marvellously short period Province after Province, wherever Hwang Hsing had laid his plans, arose and declared its independence. As it had been the aim of Hwang Hsing to bring about a comparatively bloodless Revolution, he concentrated his attention on influencing the Government's regular soldiers in the various Provinces. He filled their camps with exhorting literature, to such good effect that the uprising took on gigantic proportions; in a very short time the Manchus found few soldiers south of the Yellow River to take up arms in defense of their cause. By the time of Hwang Hsing's arrival, however, the Manchu Government had sent over twenty thousand Northern troops to attack the Revolutionary forces in Hupeh, and had already driven the Revolutionists from Hankow with great slaughter; they had then concentrated their whole strength on Hanyang. The "Compatriots," to a man, insisted that Hwang Hsing must assume the responsible position of Commander, in place of Li Yuan-hung. This he refused to do, saying: "I despise imposition, and since our manifestoes and orders have been purported to be issued by Li Yuan-hung, Heaven grant that he, Li Yuan-hung,

may live to be proud to acknowledge his responsibility; but if the God of War does not give us the victory what do I want of a Tu-tu (Governorship). Besides we must face a mighty army with our handful of men; if I do not, who will assume the dangers and hardships of their leadership? No, before Heaven I swear, and may you 'Compatriots' never have it to say that ease, comfort and position ever tempted me to forsake the straight and narrow path of duty. Let us away to the front for weal or woe. Follow your leader! Our laurels are the liberation of our four hundred millions of people from the Manchu yoke, and our reward is the inauguration of the first Republic of the East."

Hwang Hsing Holds Hanyang Against Great Odds

Hanyang is a strategical point; it contains the greatest arsenal in China, and the only great iron and steel works in the country. The plight in which Hwang Hsing found the Revolutionaries in Hupeh upon his arrival was most distressing, to put it mildly, and such as to take the heart out of an ordinary man. This shattered, tattered force of some three thousand souls was called on to face twenty thousand of well-equipped Northern troops.

For Hwang Hsing to assume the offensive was

foolhardy, and, in fact, impossible; to lose Hanyang without an effort would mean that the several Provinces which he was hoping and expecting would join him, would go over to the Imperialists. With accurate precision and military genius, he gathered his handful of soldiers, augmented by raw recruits, and set forth to Hanyang to undertake a hopeless task. Did he rout the enemy? No! He fully appreciated that impossibility before he set out. Did he save the Province from falling into the enemy's hands? No! That was equally impossible with his already decimated band. But his object was nevertheless attained, for by careful fortification he succeeded in holding out for one full month. Thus he engaged the enemy at Hanyang, and gave time for the other Provinces to raise the Republican standard, so that when Hanyang fell, ten of the eighteen Provinces were flying the flag of the Republic, and most of the Provinces were pouring soldiers and representatives into Shanghai, empowered to negotiate for the formation of a Provisional Government, and they were ready to despatch an army to attack Peking. As a result the first National Assembly was formed and nominated Hwang Hsing to be the Provisional President and Generalissimo of the new-born Republic.

The Manchus Call Yuan Shi-kai

The tottering Manchu Dynasty, not knowing the weak condition of the Revolutionary army and realizing that they had lost their last opportunity, saw that the Revolution had then got beyond control. Yuan Shi-kai, who had been called from nursing his "lame leg" to act as the Premier to the Throne, saw that the resources of the Manchus, both in troops and in money, were exhausted, and were entirely inadequate to cope with the magnitude of the Revolution. He commissioned Tong Shao-yi to go to Shanghai to seek an armistice, and empowered him to negotiate peace with Hwang Hsing. This selection of Peace Ambassador by the Manchu Court was a fortunate choice for the Revolutionists. Tong Shao-yi comes from one of the most respected clans of the South, and is eminently qualified by his American education and natural tendencies; he sympathized with Democracy and Republicanism. He proved to be a happy element in bringing the peace negotiations to a successful issue. Upon the appointment of Tong Shao-yi, Yuan Shi-kai confidentially commissioned him to convey to Hwang Hsing the message that he, Yuan Shi-kai, was favourably disposed to the formation of a Republic, if Hwang Hsing would waive his claim to

the Presidency and get Yuan Shi-kai nominated for the position ; in return Yuan promised that he would compel the abdication of the Manchus.

Hwang Hsing States His Position

When Tong Shao-yi approached Hwang Hsing with the above commission, the Liberator answered without one moment of hesitation in the following words: "Please convey to Yuan Shi-kai that my unyielding determination and my one and only aspiration is to bring Liberty and Prosperity to our benighted and oppressed brethren by overthrowing Manchu Despotism and by the inauguration of a free and glorious Republic, that our people may enjoy the heritage that God has ordained for them. If Yuan Shi-kai really sympathizes in our holy aspiration, and can assist us to attain the goal of our life's aim in its entirety, without further bloodshed and the horrors of a civil war, why then I waive my claim to the Presidency with my whole heart, and shall do my utmost to get him installed in that position. But should he fail in his duty towards our people and nourish any ungodly ambition for the establishment of a Monarchy, then I shall consider him an enemy to humanity, and he shall find in me an implacable adversary, and a determined

opponent. Should Yuan Shi-kai be prepared to entertain my proposal in its entirety, I stand adamantine to my purpose." As Tong Shao-yi seemed to believe in the sincerity of Yuan Shi-kai, immediate orders were given for an armistice, and the Revolutionaries appointed Wu Ting-fang, the Ex-American Minister, as Commissioner to negotiate and arrange the terms of peace. Peace negotiations dragged on for over one long weary month without results; the wily Yuan Shi-kai was playing the Manchus against the Revolutionists for his own interests, so that the armistice became a bore to the impatient Revolutionists of the South. The several Provinces, through their Representatives, clamoured for the immediate establishment of a Provisional Government, and insisted that Hwang Hsing should be elected first President of the Chinese Republic. The duplicity of the "Strong Man of the East" (Yuan Shi-kai) finally became apparent, and the public began to doubt his sincerity. Even his most redoubtable henchman, Commissioner Tong Shao-yi, became disgusted and resigned his position. But Hwang Hsing remained firm. He declined the Presidency in positive terms. He thought, and rightly, that should he accept, he would not only be proving false to Yuan Shi-kai,

but as a matter of course Yuan Shi-kai would thereby be given an opportunity to begin further carnage, despoliation, and devastation. As Hwang Hsing remained immovable to this great temptation to acquire the honour, distinction, and power of which his long life's endeavours had made him a thousand times deserving, the Provisional Government was indefinitely delayed, for no one had the presumption to accept the presidency which their great leader had so unselfishly declined, being willing to abide in obscurity for the sake of the Commonwealth.

About this time a Child of Fortune arrived in Shanghai after a long residence in Europe and America—Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Upon his arrival, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, in his characteristic enthusiasm, supported the clamour of the Representatives for the formation of a Provisional Government, and gave his whole energy to further the immediate formation of such a government. As the world knows the Provisional Government was inaugurated on the first of January, 1912, with Dr. Sun Yat-sen as Provisional President. Hwang Hsing, true to his steel, accepted that position which duty dictated, and became the Generalissimo of the whole Republican Army. Upon the inauguration of the Provi-

sional Government at Nanking, Hwang Hsing telegraphed to Yuan Shi-kai; the following is as near the original as translation will permit :—"Yuan Shi-kai, Peking.—The armistice and the request to open peace negotiations came from yourself, which I supported; so that now for more than a month I have enforced strict observance among my troops, and I have for that long period deferred the inauguration of the Provisional Government as evidence of my good faith towards you. The armistice has been unduly prolonged, yet you have not given one proof of your sincerity. The South is now suspicious of your intentions, and has inaugurated a Provisional Government at Nanking. We are about to mobilize our entire forces and move on Peking for a decisive engagement. Should you really have the welfare of our nation at heart and if you are desirous of a peaceful settlement, do not procrastinate further. My compatriot, Sun Yat-sen, is willing to resign in your favour. Should we not receive an immediate compliance, our troops will be mobilized. Hoping for your prompt action, Yours, etc."

The Emperor Abdicates

Yuan Shi-kai realized that further tampering with the "Man of Iron," Hwang Hsing, was |

dangerous. Confident that Hwang Hsing would support his nomination for the Presidency, and knowing that the South was willing to abide by Hwang Hsing, he intrigued with his General, Tun Chi-sui, and others, to force the little Emperor to abdicate. Thus ended the Manchu rule, and the first Republic of the Orient was born upon the ruins and ashes of a past imperial grandeur.

Alas, O infant Republic! so ruthlessly torn from the hands that brought thee forth. Many are the shoals and breakers before thee; and many are the storms that will rage on the rough and tempest-tossed sea of politics. May Providence be the Pilot of thy "Ship-of-State," and bring thee safely out of troubled waters; grant thee and thy noble millions future prosperity and power and make thee a blessing to the world, a pride to thyself, and a monument of lasting glory to the patriots and heroes who have been instrumental in thy formation!

Peking or Nanking?

As most students of recent Chinese history no doubt remember, the contention as to the place of the future Capital, whether Peking or Nanking, formed the bone of a very heated and bitter controversy, and at one time the war threatened to be

resumed on that account. To a foreigner such a question was a side issue. But to a Chinese, upon the decision of this question hung weighty considerations and most interesting developments.

Before proceeding to unveil matters unknown to foreigners generally, it may be necessary to remind the reader of a few things regarding the geography and history of the two great cities. Peking is in Chihli Province, the most northeastern Province of China proper ; geographically it is far from being central ; its isolation has been one of the causes of the great gulf that existed between the ruler and ruled ; the chasm has been the root of the greatest evils in the past, giving rise to license, bribery, greed and maladministration of every shape and form. In recent times improvements in the northern parts of China have not kept pace with those in its more enlightened and progressive southern Provinces.

Peking was made the Capital in the beginning of foreign rule. Ganghis Khan, the great Mongolian Conqueror, was the first to occupy the city as a Capital. After the Ming Dynasty moved from Nanking to Peking, the disintegration of their power and glory began. And lastly, the Manchus

used it as their Capital during nearly three hundred years. The evils of maladministration and political intrigues had so infested the place that it was impossible for the beloved Emperor, Kuang Hsu, to carry on the sorely needed reforms of his day, and in it he was doomed to die an untimely death. Such is the immoral atmosphere of Peking that it is indeed as idle to expect enlightened and benign government to issue from that place as it is to expect the refreshing perfume of the violet to come from the smoking mouth of a volcano.

Nanking, the Southern Capital, is situated on the southern bank of the Yangtse "Kiang," or "River of the Rising Sun." The site of the city is walled, and covers the largest area of any city within the confines of China. This great enclosure is diversified with beautiful hills and vales, forming a picturesque landscape. Its position geographically is quite central. Navigation is afforded by the great Yangtse, and there are railroads connecting it with Peking on the North, and Shanghai on the East; and other projected lines will soon connect it with the South and West. It is in the centre of the most prosperous and civilized Provinces of China; their inhabitants are the most intelligent and progressive. The founder of the

Ming Dynasty enjoyed a long and prosperous reign therein, and so long as his descendants remained there, that Dynasty was the pride of the Chinese people.

In the year 1912, the Provisional Government was inaugurated in Nanking, and the Provisional President of the Republic took his Oath of Office in the spacious and beautiful courts of that ancient Capital. Its history was unsullied until Chang Hsun, the trusted General of Yuan Shi-kai, polluted its streets with rape, pillage and indiscriminate massacre too horrible to relate.

With this preface the reader will understand why the Republican South incorporated such an apparently insignificant stipulation in their terms of peace with Yuan Shi-kai, namely, that he must come to Nanking to take his Oath of Office, and make that city the future Capital of the Republic. We cannot blame the southern Chinese for entertaining distrust and misgivings at allowing Yuan Shi-kai to rule the country from Peking. His past records and associations, at least among the Chinese who claim to know most about him, are full of terrible accusations and revolting incriminations. Yuan Shi-kai not only telegraphed his agreement to the stipulation regarding his coming to Nanking,

but also went further, and said that it was his wish to make Nanking the Capital. In fact, he seemed to be so delighted in anticipation of getting the Presidency that there was nothing he would not consent to, if happily he could get the nomination for that coveted position. But after his nomination and election, Yuan Shi-kai showed his true colours; he loved Peking with all its depraved associations, and could not leave a place so propitious for his intrigues and unholy aspirations. He secured his henchmen, and by every means that influence and money could purchase he started a counter agitation to show the suitability of Peking for the capital. When he found the South immovable, Yuan Shi-kai then resorted to intrigue, and secretly ordered his soldiers to plunder and commit arson around and about Peking. So, with the plausible story that his stay in Peking was indispensable to the order and safety of the North, he approached the Provisional Government at Nanking. Many saw through the imposition, but Hwang Hsing was lamentably short-sighted on this occasion, and permitted himself to be persuaded. Yuan Shi-kai was formally allowed to remain in Peking and to take the oath of office in the northern capital.

II

HWANG HSING'S AND YUAN SHI-KAI'S METHODS CONTRASTED

TO properly understand the present complicated political tangle in China, we must trace very minutely the course of the two champions now endeavouring to bring the nation to diametrically different goals. The world agrees that the destiny of China and possibly the future peace and prosperity of the world is wrapped up in these great makers of history; so the reader's indulgence and pains will be amply compensated by a close scrutiny of the course and actions of these two men in the great political drama that has just been played and is still being played in the interesting and instructive arena of Chinese politics. As was to be expected, the failure of Yuan Shi-kai to keep his first solemn promise with the Republicans, and his great solicitude to cling to that hot-bed of corruption, Peking, was looked upon as an ominous sign for China's welfare by the South generally, and by the Revolutionary

army in particular. At that time there was massed together more than two hundred thousand troops at Nanking. Yuan Shi-kai saw plainly that it was entirely out of his power to control these troops, and it is possible that he recognized the great merits of Hwang Hsing, for he besought him to remain in Nanking as the Generalissimo of all the southern forces. To this behest, Hwang Hsing yielded a reluctant acquiescence for a while. He thought, and rightly, that the best interests of the country and the welfare of the people were incompatible with a big standing army. He correctly divined that a big southern army would give Yuan an excuse and an incentive to raise and maintain a correspondingly large northern army. Such a course would prove fatal to the unity of the country and would be a drain on the life-blood and resources of the nation, which were sorely needed for the reconstruction and development of its latent resources.

As proof of Hwang Hsing's unselfishness and self-abnegation for the public good, we see him installed in the Southern Capital as Generalissimo, bending his influence and energy not to the increasing but to the disbanding of his troops. No other man in China could have performed this diffi-

cult task so well. Indeed, even with his absorbing zeal for the public welfare it was at times difficult to convince his men that it was not best that their leader should lead them to fields of greater renown and remuneration. But his elevated aims, his singleness of purpose, and his moral persuasion won the day. Their love and admiration for their General served as the yeast that leavened the whole to a life of more self-sacrifice and loftier aspirations. So well had he succeeded that within two months he had disbanded over one-half of the whole two hundred thousand troops that he had in command, and under his benign and enlightened policy the whole country was recuperating and advancing by leaps and bounds; if the reader will turn to the statistics of China for that period, he will be surprised to find that the Custom receipts were greater than for an equal period in any previous year. For the remainder of his army, Hwang Hsing soon found wise provision and disposal, consequently he tendered his recommendations for the abolition of the unnecessary position of Generalissimo. After tendering his resignation for the third time, Yuan Shi-kai accepted it, and the post was abolished.

Having been relieved of his responsibilities, do

we now find our Hero resting supinely on fame and honour won, and satisfied with the recollection of bygone days? No. What does he propose doing? In answer to this question propounded to him by a friend, Hwang Hsing replied: "I cannot rest as long as our country is not brought to that degree of prosperity and power that I think Heaven has ordained for us. The crying need of the moment is more light on methods of good modern government. We must bend ourselves to the development of our natural and mineral resources, we must obtain a more thorough and sane acquaintance with our foreign brothers, so that we may understand their needs and endeavours, and not forever be making those sad and fatal mistakes which are the result of misunderstanding. To that end I am going to study methods of government in America, the country which I hold in the highest regard, and I hope to return by way of Europe." Such were his motives when he returned to Shanghai. But new matters demanded his attention. At that time political parties were springing up like mushrooms, with no particular aim or definite platform. Hwang Hsing immediately saw their bearing on the future destiny of the nation. With wonted energy and decision, he set himself to organize a

party with a platform and a purpose compatible with a great people. He named it the "Kuo Min Tang," or "Nationalist Party." He offered the presidency of the same to Dr. Sun Yat-sen. The elevated aims and the justice of its platform soon attracted the students that had graduated abroad, the native Christians, and nearly all the members of the "Old Compatriot Association." Very soon it was strengthened with members from the gentry, merchants, students and others, so that it became by far the largest and most influential political party in China.

Turning North again let us now see what is going on. The northern champion, Yuan Shi-kai, is not a man to allow the grass to grow under his feet. Of all the military leaders of the Manchu Court, there was probably no one so totally ignorant, illiterate and depraved as Chang Hsun, the General that Yuan Shi-kai finally sent to Nanking ; his sack- ing of the city, the savage destruction, rape, plunder and indiscriminate massacre that followed are still fresh in the world's memory ; and are so horrible as to make one shrink from relating them.

When his bloodthirsty hordes were severely beaten and routed by the Revolutionists, in the latter part of 1912, he barely escaped himself, and

afterwards made his way with a few followers back to Shantung Province. The whole nation demanded that Yuan Shi-kai should punish this man, for he had outraged their feelings by his barbarity; but for reasons best known to himself Yuan Shi-kai not only lent a deaf ear to public clamour, but even promoted this "Disgrace to Civilization," Chang Hsun, whose followers for the most part were criminals, bandits, and all sorts of outcasts. By the light of after developments his purpose is very transparent. It would seem that Yuan Shi-kai had from an early date determined upon the ruthless trampling of the people's rights and that he decided to bring about such confusion as to give him the opportunity, if not the excuse, to exterminate all those who supported the people's rights and liberty, and to root out from Chinese soil the new-born patriotism and public spirit.

Some may say that it is premature to pronounce such a hard sentence. Let us go farther and see if his later conduct justifies it. In Hupeh there were two Generals, Chang and Feng, who took an active part in the Revolution and indeed had performed some signal services for the country, but when Yuan Shi-kai came to power they were dismissed from public service. Being in retirement, they were

unexpectedly summoned to Peking and trapped at a banquet, where Yuan Shi-kai ordered them to be shot without the semblance of a trial. This and many other shocking instances of injustice in daily evidence of the course which Yuan Shi-kai was taking, so incensed the public that he was denounced in strong terms in every quarter. Hwang Hsing, ever believing in trying to attain results by peaceful means, found discontent and agitation becoming so strong that a crisis seemed imminent, and decided that he must throw his influence into the balance. He thought that it was his duty to save the country from further bloodshed if possible. Accordingly, he approached the great political "Kuo Min Tang" or "Nationalist Party," and earnestly entreated them to desist from inflammatory agitation and harsh vituperation. "There is no denying that Yuan Shi-kai is most covetous of power and self-aggrandizement," said the Liberator, "and hoping to satisfy his ambition, we have elected him as the Provisional President, in order that the blessings of peace and prosperity might not be sacrificed on the altar of his ambition. Harsh vituperations do not convince, and inflammatory agitations may precipitate a crisis which kind admonition and time may prevent. Should Yuan Shi-kai still adhere to

the errors of his way we have the reasonable and peaceful measures of a Parliament for a last resort."

Hwang Hsing further showed his earnestness by even going to Peking to see Yuan Shi-kai, where his heart poured out its pious zeal for the people's good. He told Yuan Shi-kai that he might depend on his support in so far as his aims and actions were for the best interests of the State. Yuan Shi-kai, although so diametrically different in nature, was so struck by the consuming patriotic zeal and fervour of Hwang Hsing that he gave expression to his admiration and esteem at a public assembly of the high dignitaries of State in Peking, when he said, in a touching voice, "I declare to you that Hwang Hsing is not only a superb Hero, but he is more, a sincere 'Chen-Tzu.'" To a foreigner this compliment means very little without translating the term "Chen-Tzu." This term expresses one of those lofty conceptions and ideals for which it is not easy to find a counterpart in the English language. The term sums up all the qualities and characteristics that are grand, admirable, pure and true that man may possess or achieve; in short the nearest translation would be "An Ideal Man." By Hwang Hsing's visit a critical time was tided over, and in obedience to his injunctions the "Nationalist Party" built

their hopes on the coming Parliament. But alas, how greatly disappointed he was in Yuan Shi-kai, after events will prove. People hoped that his broad mind and magnanimous heart would show Yuan Shi-kai the path of duty, but not so! Yuan Shi-kai saw that he could profit by those "Chen-Tzu" qualities of Hwang Hsing, and they only served to incite him to new ambitions and fresh intrigues.

Hwang Hsing Visits His Birthplace

After this visit to Peking, Hwang Hsing returned to pay a hasty visit to his home in Hunan, before going on his intended tour of the world. But before we let these two champions part, possibly to meet no more, let us cast an eye to the future to see if we can get a glimpse of the approaching storm. In Hwang Hsing we can see no indication of the tempest. He had trusted Yuan Shi-kai and had fully determined to rely upon constitutional means to obtain what he could not accomplish by moral persuasion. But how with Yuan Shi-kai? His actions and measures have been suspicious throughout, and we may justly fear that the righteous zeal and good example of Hwang Hsing were lost on a man who had his own axe to grind. Yuan

evidently asked himself if he should cling to his purpose and prepare to make a conflict ; attack his opponents unprepared and carry them to certain defeat ? Should he betray the confidence and power that the Republicans had so trustingly handed over to him ? Parliament, public voice, and the opinion of the world would then be China's only resort. Should he dissolve Parliament or strangle it ? Suppress free speech, and buy the necessary votes with filthy lucre ? Some of these questions have already been answered and the nature of the answers lead some to ask : What could Hwang Hsing and his patriotic and zealous followers do ? What could one do indeed ? In our helplessness we utter the word " Impossible ! "

To return to Hwang Hsing. From Peking he proceeded to Shanghai where a Government cruiser awaited to escort him up the Yangtse River ; he made no stop on the way until he reached Hankow, where Li Yuen-hung, the Vice-President of the Provisional Government prepared an elaborate reception for him. Here he remained two days in acknowledgment of his good will and hospitality.

On the morning of the third day he weighed anchor, and continued his way midst the booming of cannons and the shouting crowd. When he

reached Changsha, the capital of Hunan, the crowd that awaited his arrival was immense ; the banks of the river, as far as the eye could see, were a perfect carpet of human heads. Such a sight one never forgets. Mounted on a stately steed, our Hero marched at the head of a long procession of the military forces of the capital, to the Tu-tu's yamen where extensive preparations had been made for his reception. Here in the beautiful court, dotted with magnificent trees, Hwang Hsing and his suite took up their abode. It was nearly a month ere he could snatch a day or two to visit his ancestral home, which was only a short ride from the capital. All the Government Departments, Commercial Institutions, Schools, Associations of every name and description, and the Churches and Missions, vied with each other to show their appreciation and welcome to the Liberator. Ministers of the Gospel and Missionaries turned out in force. No doubt these "Ministers of Peace" were not enamoured with the military exploits of Hwang Hsing, but it shows their profound sympathy, fellowship, and the regard in which he was held. Not a few Churches and Missions prepared grand receptions for him and he gave expressions of deep sympathy and appreciation for all their good work.

One address before the Episcopal Mission is especially interesting and suggestive.

Hwang Hsing's Remarkable Address

"Bishop, Ministers, Missionaries, Brothers, Sisters and all present:—After being driven from Hunan and ostracized from the country and home which I love, I have for nearly ten years endured unspeakable sufferings and privations for the cause of Liberty. 'Man proposes but God disposes,' and a kind Providence has disposed that our glorious nation of four hundred millions of His children should now enter a period of Liberty and Prosperity, and has used me as an instrument to bring it about, you now call me a Hero! But in these holy precincts I am ashamed of my own unworthiness. Although, after such a long absence, the very air of the home of my childhood is inexpressibly sweet, as I approach this sanctuary, my mind is overwhelmed and my inmost heart vibrates with infinite joy and thanksgiving. A retrospect of my past reminds me of that gloomy, anxious night when the whole government forces were ransacking every street and house for me, the fugitive, Hwang Hsing, whom you now so magnanimously call 'Hero'! It was then that kind Providence raised up a helper,

the very shepherd of this flock. He risked his reputation, aye, his very life and hid me in this church. Under what infinite difficulty and untold dangers did he accompany me to freedom and liberty. Words cannot express to you how insignificant and unworthy I feel when I am surrounded by so many of my foreign brothers, who are enduring self-imposed self-sacrifice and hardships that you and I, of a different tongue and race, may receive Light and Liberty. He, I say, is a Hero. He and such as he deserve your love, respect, and admiration.

“Yet you in your particular sphere can be greater Heroes than he who marches at the head of bloody armies. By devotion to an elevated purpose, by self-sacrifice for the good of others, and by never swerving from the path of duty, you will all be Heroes of such a kind as the world sadly needs. By the help of the Almighty I have torn away the fabric of Despotism and have laid the corner-stone of Liberty and Prosperity on the firm and broad foundation of a Republic. The world is now waiting for your patriotic services in the reconstruction of our shattered land. Great may have been the work that Heaven assigned to me, but greater and more gigantic is this task of regeneration and reconstruction. May Heaven as-

sist every one here to prove himself a true Hero and a Benefactor of his people in this crying need."

Liberty and License Defined

How infinitely touching ! One can almost hear the vibrations of Hwang Hsing's mighty heart as each word was wrung from the hidden recesses of his patriotic soul. So the days went by. He never failed to take every opportunity to give a word of encouragement and advice, and seemed never tired of preaching the doctrine of self-denial for the sake of the public good. A very characteristic advice was : " Brethren, we have secured Liberty. Heaven granted this to us, for it is the heritage of every man. But I earnestly pray that each and all may know the distinct difference between Liberty and License. Liberty is the offspring of lofty aspirations, self-sacrifice and holy devotion to duty ; License is the bastard of selfishness, avarice, unhealthy ambition and vice. Defend Liberty with pious zeal, but shun License with all your might."

Most men would have been utterly spoiled by such public praise, demonstration, and adoration as he received, but not so with Hwang Hsing. He remained ever a retiring, unassuming patriot. No

man so poor, and no beggar so low, but found in him a ready listener and a warm sympathizer.

Although he had come to Hunan on a private mission, he was not allowed a long rest. Hunan had been unable to disband the recruits and volunteers of the Revolution, and the Tu-tu was wrestling with an almost impossible problem. Hwang Hsing, with characteristic energy, came to the rescue, and in a few weeks all the surplus soldiers of the Province were rehearsing their exploits of the camp around their own firesides, or in the rice paddies of Hunan. His success was so pronounced, and his methods so benign, that Commissioners sent by Yuan Shi-kai to disband the troops in Kiangsi, and other Provinces, came to learn his methods.

Hwang Hsing is Made Director-General

One thing accomplished, another was begun. We next see Hwang Hsing with a retinue of mining engineers, geologists and experts, taking extended tours of investigation, acquiring the necessary information to enable him to elicit foreign interest and coöperation in developing the latent resources of his country. It was while busying himself in this very useful work that Yuan Shi-kai

sent urgent entreaties for him to leave Hunan, and go back to Hankow to take over the General Directorship of those important lines of railroads in the course of construction between Hankow and Canton, and between Hankow and Szechuan. At first he declined, for he regretted to give up his pet plan of travelling and studying in America and Europe; but Yuan Shi-kai was so insistent that he finally consented.

We next see him leaving Hunan and soon find him made Director-General of Communications and Traffic. It is characteristic of him that what he does he does with his whole heart. He moved his family and personal effects from Shanghai, and began to dig into the mass of complications that his predecessors had left behind. He soon found that the old system had been extravagant and wasteful. There were too many advisers, directors, and too much "red tape." He showed the necessity for a complete and radical change to Yuan Shi-kai, who, while agreeing with Hwang Hsing's recommendations, invariably substituted other methods quite as inconsistent with strict economy and efficiency as the old. He soon saw that Yuan Shi-kai had an eye not to economy, but to fattening the insatiable parasites who infested political Peking. To the

surprise of the world, but clearly understood by those who knew him, he sent his seal of office back to Yuan Shi-kai one month after taking up his task, and returned with his family to Shanghai. He had fully made up his mind that he could now go abroad to study. Again he was doomed to disappointment.

The Assassination of Sung Chiao-jen

It was at this time that the civilized world was astonished and shocked by one of the most revolting political murders ever recorded on the pages of history. Hwang Hsing is a believer in human nature, and magnanimous even to an enemy. He refused to believe that Yuan Shi-kai had any connection with the outrage. However, there is evidence to show that Sung Chiao-jen was shot on March 20, 1913, as he was going to the railway station on his way to Peking for the opening of Parliament. China was thus deprived of one of its most brilliant, patriotic and zealous public men. Mr. Sung Chiao-jen was a member of the original "Compatriot Association" and the right hand comrade of Hwang Hsing. His knowledge was phenomenal. He was a genius on constitutional matters. To him, above all others, the Chinese of

all parties looked for help in the work of reconstruction. He acted as the minister of the Department of Forestry and Agriculture in the Peking Provisional Government, but as Yuan Shi-kai's political ideas were so diametrically opposed to his, he resigned and retired to his home in Hunan.

The talent and ability of this man had aroused malicious jealousy in Yuan Shi-kai, and with good reason, for, with such a master spirit in Parliament, Yuan Shi-kai could not have made that institution a ghastly fiasco and the laughing-stock of the world. Soon after the assassination, the murderer and the agent of Peking, Ying Kwai-shing, who hired him, were arrested. It is known that highly incriminating documents, which had passed between the agent, Ying Kwai-shing and Chiao Ping-chun, Yuan Shi-kai's Premier, were found in their possession. In these it was stipulated that the promotion and remuneration of the agent would occur on the accomplishment of his ungodly mission. It is now a matter of history that the Foreign Courts in the Concessions tried the case in Shanghai, and found the prisoner guilty; the Chinese legal authorities issued a warrant to bring the Premier, Chiao Ping-chun to trial. It is also well known that the Chief Justice's repeated applications to

Yuan Shi-kai, asking him to send his Premier for trial, went unheeded; and the warrants were laughed at by the Premier himself. Public justice was so outraged and incensed that the representatives of the Court sent printed and detailed evidence to Yuan Shi-kai, and all the Tu-tus and Chief Justices of the various Provinces made a united demand upon him to cashier the Premier, Chiao Ping-chun, and send him to Shanghai for trial, but all to no avail. The public could but feel that Yuan Shi-kai was highly incriminated.

Many said openly that the promises of promotion and remuneration to the murderer and Peking agent were made with the knowledge of Yuan Shi-kai. Public resentment ran high and was most threatening. The feeling of Hwang Hsing can be better imagined than described. His high hopes of Yuan Shi-kai had been dashed to pieces. He was sick at heart to learn that the President of the Republic could go to such depths of wickedness. As a last resort, hoping against hope that the worst was not true, he telegraphed to Yuan Shi-kai and appealed to him to save himself from suspicion: "We beg you to make no further delays in sending Chiao Ping-chun to Shanghai, where he will get every justice and consideration. Should you shield

him, suspicions will become certainties, and I dare not contemplate the result." To his frank and open request Hwang Hsing received an underhanded reply; Yuan Shi-kai secretly sent Lau Kwai-yi, the minister of the Department of Industry and Commerce, to ask Hwang Hsing to say no more about the crime, giving a solemn promise that he, Yuan Shi-kai, would use his whole influence to abet and assist Hwang Hsing and his Nationalist Party. How awfully transparent! If there were any smouldering embers of hope in the mind of Hwang Hsing for the innocence of Yuan Shi-kai, they were now dashed to the ground. Even to our Hero, who is a stranger to underhand stratagem and base intrigues, the goal for which Yuan Shi-kai was striving became only too apparent. Hwang Hsing was disappointed but unmoved. In reply he said to Lau Kwai-yi: "I cannot. The voice of justice forbids me. Tell your master that I will make no further reply, for my self-respect prevents me from thinking that such a proposition could have been made."

Now that Yuan Shi-kai had failed, by enticement and temptation, to draw into his net the only man he feared, his base intrigues and unprincipled plotting became more active and unfeigned. Hence-

forth began Yuan Shi-kai's open and ruthless tramping upon the people's rights. What he failed to do by his cunning plotting and underhanded diplomacy he now determined to accomplish by force of arms and filthy lucre. By playing the hypocrite in the past he had induced Hwang Hsing and others to voluntarily cede their power and position. Indeed, facts that have recently come to light show that he had even then made great additions to his Northern forces, and had occupied all the strategical centres in the Southern Provinces. The time was propitious for Yuan Shi-kai in that he used the "Mongolian Imbroglia" as a cunning cover for his operations. He had sent out his feelers into every Province, and the Vice-President, Li Yuan-hung, had been early surrounded and intimidated by a horde of his secret agents. Well might Yuan Shi-kai throw off his mask ; he had profited by Hwang Hsing's mistaken judgment, he had secured his ill placed trust, he had augmented his own power at Hwang Hsing's expense, and he was now ready to glory over the discomfiture of his victim. The only essential that he now lacked was the sinews of war to pay his troops, which would enable him to rekindle that insatiable thirst for filthy lucre, bribery, and

greed ; the cancer that gnawed out the vitals of the Manchu Dynasty.

Yuan Shi-kai Unseats Parliament

Immense sums were arbitrarily expended by Yuan Shi-kai for the organization of a political party, fashioned after his own heart, named the "Chun Pu Tang," or the "Progressive Party." This group was to do his personal bidding ; and, as after events have proved, it fully earned the extravagant attention and lavish expenditures which Yuan Shi-kai expended on it. It proved a two-edged sword in its master's hand ; it not only blocked and absolutely annulled every attempt of the first Chinese Parliament to transact business, by months of riotous behaviour and obstructive tactics, but it succeeded in making that Parliament a ghastly failure, and paved the way for Yuan Shi-kai to make the second *coup d'état* in Chinese recent history, in both of which he has played the leading part.

The first, nominally made by the great Empress Dowager, Tze Hsi, but actually made through Yuan Shi-kai's intrigue and perfidy, prevented the good Emperor, Kuang Hsu, from becoming a benefactor to his race ; and scores of patriotic reformers were consigned to a martyr's grave. So admirably

did he then act as the champion of old ideas and conservatism that poor China was soon saddled with the overwhelming burden of the Boxer indemnities.

In the second *coup d'état* we find him again the moving spirit. By a single stroke of his pen he unseated over four hundred members of Parliament. Hundreds were arrested and cast into prison. Members of every party were heavily bribed, and to each who was base enough to yield, as much as five thousand dollars was paid.

Yuan Shi-kai Puts Through a Great Foreign Loan

Get the sinews of war he must, and they must come from foreign sources, for the Provinces had now learned, to their sorrow, that the Chief Magistrate of their Country had used the funds they so foolishly sent to him, in preparing for a war for their own extermination, and so they had, upon various pretexts, stopped their contributions.

He knew that he must have public opinion, and to secure foreign sympathy Yuan Shi-kai surrounded himself with a host of foreign advisers, many of whom were noted more for their political influence than for their technical skill. Huge sums were squandered to subsidize the Foreign

and Chinese Press. At his bidding the money mongers of Europe came with a full hand, and a great foreign loan was forced upon an unwilling nation in the dead of night. It may be objected that this loan was for reconstructive and not for war purposes, and that the conditions thereof make it necessary to obtain the sanction of a foreign auditor before the fund can be appropriated. True, but the world has reasoned from appearances and not from actual facts. People do not take into account the genius of Yuan Shi-kai to surmount such insignificant obstacles. We have seen how he had created a vacuum in the treasury which foreign capital must fill; he had augmented the army which foreign money must feed and support. What did Yuan Shi-kai care about China's loss of dignity in the terms exacted? What mattered it to him whether a foreign auditor was forced on China, so long as he could pursue his military preparations and pay the deficits in the Departments of State which ought to be self-supporting?

The South Opposed to the Foreign Loan

But the South was and is opposed to the Foreign Loan for reasons concerning which the world

knows little. Future historians will pronounce that this Loan was a great blunder, aye, a most regretful and unwise step for a nation which is struggling for Advancement and Liberty to take. The undertaking will be a dead weight and a great stumbling block against the real progress and advancement of the Chinese people.

President Wilson's Good Move

The day is coming, and that soon, when America will be heartily glad that she, under the wise direction of President Wilson, washed her hands of that abominable affair. Indeed the name of America is honoured and respected in China to-day more than the name of any other country. The Chinese are a highly appreciative people, and there is no doubt that when the South comes to power again America, because of her friendly relations, commercial and industrial coöperation, will reap an abundant harvest from these just measures.

The Present Distracted Condition of China

To-day there is little evidence of reconstructive work in China. The country is poorer and more unsettled than before. For a time, with the powerful support of those nations of the world from which he drew the sinews of war, we may expect

Yuan Shi-kai to play the rest of his game with a far more masterly hand. The world has been astonished by the bold and dramatic measures that he has carried out. Members of the "Kuo Min Tang" or "Nationalist Party" in Parliament, who had the moral stamina to withstand his tempting offers, were suppressed by a ruthless hand. Parliament was intimidated by military force. Those who were heroic enough to oppose these appalling dangers were dispatched to a martyr's grave. A Cantonese member of Parliament, Wu Han-chi, being goaded on by a conscientious desire to save the country from so much unnecessary bloodshed and misery, introduced a bill calling upon Yuan Shi-kai to retire. For this patriotic and constitutional step the President, Yuan Shi-kai, ordered his arrest. In self-preservation he fled to Tientsin, where he was caught and summarily shot.

Parliament has already become a nonentity by the masterly plotting of Yuan Shi-kai, and exists for his own glorification. It has become the laughing-stock of the world. One can but sympathize with the poor oppressed Nationalists who were made the target of the jibes, of the jeers and of the sneers of vulgar critics and of shallow editors.

Less patient people would have risen long ago and would have sent such an Autocrat to oblivion. But the fates seem to be on his side. Li Yuen-hung was just the man to become a handy tool in this master hand; he yielded to his enticements. It was an easy matter to deal with this "Product of Circumstance." There were, however, the Tu-tus of Kiangsi, Kuangtung, Anhui and Hunan who in a fearless manner withstood his inhuman actions and held aloof from his enticements. Remove these he must before he could bring to pass the climax, the second Revolution.

Here, as elsewhere, the cunning and stratagem of Yuan Shi-kai excite our wonder, while the nobleness of purpose and unsullied determination of Hwang Hsing ever elicit our sincerest admiration.

Yuan, knowing that public opinion would not support him in using the barbaric methods of former years, sent out a band of confidential agents, fully supplied with money, to the various Provinces of the South. These were instructed to bribe the under officers of the Tu-tus, so that they would make trouble. Promises were made that whoever succeeded in overthrowing these high officers of State would not only be amply rewarded by money, but would be given the Tu-tu-ships of those they

displaced. These treacherous intriguers even combined with the bandits of the South, whose lawlessness and depredations offered Yuan Shi-kai many a golden opportunity to send his troops South to occupy these strategic points, the better to enable him to strangle his victim.

The Governors of the South Appeal to Hwang Hsing

Manifestations of his base manipulations were seen in Kuangtung, Nanking, Kiangsi and other places. The Tu-tus of the South, in this trying hour, came to Hwang Hsing and urged him to undertake a punitive expedition to remove Yuan Shi-kai, but his reply showed that in him was no reckless bravery and that he appreciated the adage that "discretion is the better part of valour." "No," he said. "Do you not see that Yuan Shi-kai, having secured our trust and confidence, seems to be determined to prove that he is unworthy; and, under the cover of sincerity, he has mapped out his whole campaign of oppression and conquest. He has secured foreign sympathy, aye, assistance, by the golden bait of the 'Quintuple Loan.' He has money not only to maintain his army, but to augment it; the almighty dollar has been given to feed the avarice and greed of nearly all the subordinate

officers of his army, of the press and of his underlings.

“ While our army is disbanded, our engines of war and ammunition have, by various pretexts, been taken to the North by Yuan Shi-kai. Our arsenals and stores have been blown up by that heartless monster ; while we have been resting on ill-placed trust and confidence, he has sent his Northern hordes down upon us and they are even now stationed in those strategic centres ready to throttle the very life out of the South. He really wants an excuse for his unholy war so that he may justify himself before the world. What! Would you fall into the very trap that he has set, and shoulder the blame of precipitating the clash of arms, when we are certain of defeat? If you do, people who have not suffered as we have, people who have not realized the stinging prick of provocation, will say that you loved your position too well, and that position and riches were your incentive. No. But I advise you all to vacate your posts, for by so doing you will deprive Yuan Shi-kai of his excuse for not withdrawing his Northern hordes. Our golden opportunity was lost when we allowed him to get the Presidency and now he has spread his tentacles far and wide. Before his victim is fully sucked, may

Heaven award him a speedy death. I would remind you of an old and wise saying: 'He whom Heaven has decreed to destroy, it permits him to be swallowed in the depth of his excesses and iniquity.'"

Thus again did Hwang Hsing tide the nation over an important crisis, and all those Tu-tus who had so unflinchingly espoused the cause of Justice, Humanity and true Progress resigned their positions and retired into private life, spurning every public appointment that Yuan Shi-kai offered them.

It is evident that if Yuan Shi-kai had no ulterior purpose, the field was now clear for him to devote his energies to the progress and betterment of his race. He was truly the "Strongest Man of the Orient" and by retracting his unreasonable and unjust occupation of Southern territory he would have healed, in a measure at least, the sore wound that was rankling in the heart of the South, and he would have allayed the suspicion that was rife in every part of the world as to his ulterior designs. But the world stands to witness that this was not the course pursued by the Northern Dictator. He pushed his forces on to a strategical point on the Yangtse, in the Kiangsi Province, and when the government forces of the Province refused to

vacate it, Yuan Shi-kai's soldiers attacked the position.

As might be expected, a flame of indignation swept over the South, and even the cautioning words of Hwang Hsing had no avail. His cautious reserve was now taken for a lukewarm attitude and he was accused of being a devotee of ease and comfort; no longer the former leader whom they remembered had sworn that he would never afford his compatriots a cause to say that ease, comfort and position ever tempted him to forsake the straight and narrow path of duty. Our Hero found himself in a precarious position; on one side was certain defeat and ruin, on the other he felt a certain tinge of selfishness should he fail to throw his lot with the moral struggle that had already begun.

The Punitive Expedition Against Yuan Shi-kai

However, the determining factor was his forlorn hope that Yuan Shi-kai's self-respect would compel him to resign the Presidency and restrain him from forcing himself upon an unwilling nation; for Hwang Hsing had not yet learned his bitter lesson, that it could be in the heart of man to wantonly sacrifice a whole nation's welfare upon

the altar of an unholy and selfish ambition. He miscalculated his opponent's depth of depravity and hard-hearted tyranny. Yuan had no intention of resigning. Hwang Hsing waited and urged him on but to no avail; finally, in response to the beseeching request of his Southern Compatriots, Hwang Hsing accompanied them on the 14th of July, 1913, to Nanking and launched "The Punitive Expedition Against Yuan Shi-kai." The world knows that the expedition ended in defeat for the Southerners, but who can tell but that it was a blessing in disguise. A great moral issue was at stake, and it would have been inexpressibly tragic had Hwang Hsing sacrificed the issue without a struggle.

The bosom friend and right-hand man of Yuan Shi-kai from time of old, Ex-Premier Tong Shao-yi, could not endure the prospect of so much unnecessary bloodshed nor more devastation of poor China's fair Provinces. His conscience forced him to send the President the following telegram: "President Yuan Shi-kai, your Presidency is a nomination and a trust of the people; now that you have lost their trust and support, it is your duty to resign and permit Parliament to act as it sees best. You have already usurped the powers of Parliament, and now

you propose to suppress the People's Voice and Rights by force of arms, which will compel the public to resort to the same methods. Your personal ambition has led you to bring about this exterminating civil war; it cannot in any manner be construed as your love for your country."

Thus Tong Shao-yi forestalled his old friend in the probable excuse he knew that Yuan Shi-kai would fabricate; how suggestive is the concluding sentence. We may add that the spark of conscience in the Ex-Premier's breast is still alive, for he has declined Yuan Shi-kai's many offers, and is now living in strict retirement. Hwang Hsing launched into the Punitive Expedition, not because he hoped to win brilliant victories, but because he hoped that under the united front of the whole South, Yuan Shi-kai would be compelled to resign either from self-respect, public censure, or the moral pressure of China's "Sister Nations."

Hwang Hsing Did not Receive the Support of the Powers

Hwang Hsing put great hope in the moral support of the Powers. As Generalissimo of "The Punitive Expedition Against Yuan Shi-kai," he issued his clear, unequivocal manifestoes addressed

to Yuan Shi-kai, to the Ministers and Ambassadors of all Nations, to the Tu-tus, to High Officers of State, and to every city of the Republic. In this manifesto he enumerated the oppression and tyranny of Yuan Shi-kai as being the real and sole cause of the Expedition. He called Heaven to witness that immediately upon the resignation of Yuan Shi-kai he and every leader of the Expedition would lay down their arms and return to their homes and the world would never have it to say that it was undertaken because they envied Yuan Shi-kai's position and power.

The manifesto was telegraphed to the various Legations and Embassies the day after Hwang Hsing took over the command at the Southern Capital. But alas, previous tolerance of Yuan Shi-kai's abnormal acts had now bred license, and Yuan Shi-kai had the audacity to detain the delivery of this telegram until the Embassies were compelled to lodge a formal complaint; after which it was forwarded with Yuan Shi-kai's apology and the whimsical excuse that "the delay was due to a clerical oversight."

The weeks that Hwang Hsing spent in Nanking as Generalissimo were an anxious and sleepless time. He concentrated attention on the drift of opinion

both at home and abroad. He waited in vain! An everlasting shame upon the world's sense of right and justice! A hideous monument to the ignominious conquest of humanity, liberty of thought and speech, by the overpowering force of "Filthy Lucre!" How lamentable, yet true! The inspired Foreign Press in Shanghai and other Ports urged a complete extermination of every opponent to Yuan Shi-kai, and one bright Editorial blazed forth in large type: "Yuan Shi-kai Offers One Hundred Thousand Dollars for the Head of Hwang Hsing, Dead or Alive."

The reader will no doubt be ready to fling this faithful account of actual facts from him, as the very rehearsal of them breathes contamination. And yet it only awakened a mild protest from the Vernacular Press of Shanghai that the Foreign Concessions should allow their journals to foster assassination and murder in the very heart of the Foreign Settlements by publishing such advertisements.

"Neutrality" was played in the most approved style, yet no behest of Yuan Shi-kai was ever denied, while the bugbear of neutrality was always paraded before the Southerners, public railways and lines of communication, under foreign control,

were stopped at every point where such could be of any assistance to the Southern cause, the public telegraphs in the Shanghai Settlements were, by the assistance of the Foreign Municipal Authorities, wrenched from Southern management. Thus communication and traffic were hindered to the people waging a one-handed fight for humanity, justice and liberty. This did not constitute the extent of the handicap; the Northern troops were equipped, fed, and paid from an inexhaustible foreign money market and to that were added the untold increments of pillage and plunder, while the Southern troops contended with deficiency at every step, and often endured a long day's battle or march without even food enough to keep body and soul together. And yet, with very few exceptions, every Southern soldier, throughout the first as well as the second Revolution, could show a record clean and unsullied by pillage, plunder, rape or murder.

Hwang Hsing's Great Farewell Address

There was only one course for Hwang Hsing to pursue when he found the whole world against him and the unselfish and noble cause he had espoused. Only his own words can convey to the reader his feelings on that memorable night of the 26th of

July, 1913, in Nanking : " My dear Compatriots, I appreciate the righteous indignation of the South, and I was touched with the bravery and self-sacrifice of every man among you, when I laid before you the terrible odds that we had to fight against, and you willingly courted death or the life of a refugee in a foreign land. Yes, I admired your holy zeal, your devotion to what you considered public welfare and liberty, at the risk of throwing away the lucrative positions that you had already attained, and the rapid promotion that you doubtless would have secured had you only accorded Yuan Shi-kai your silence. Yes, I say again, the South has acted like noble men, and if we die for the cause, future generations will rise to call us blessed. Under the circumstances, I could not deny you my leadership. I was constrained to take my chances among you for weal or woe. But now that I have cast my lot with you, you cannot condemn me for selfishness if I bring to your consideration that which must be faced. Those points where the northern monster has us at a disadvantage I have already laid before you, and that, on account of our lack of funds, food and ammunition, our army may meet defeat, although with wide support and determination, we might ruin the

country and make it untenable for even Yuan Shi-kai.

“Yet I think that it is a useless and ruinous struggle, and should we carry it to the bitter end it will so despoil and devastate our fair land that, even if we win, our beloved country will be in bankruptcy, and in danger of the unspeakable disaster of foreign partition. Do you not see that by holding the golden bait Yuan Shi-kai has enamoured and captured our great sister nations, and, in a more pronounced manner, the almighty dollar has already done its work right in our midst. The world over has been blinded in its perception of Right and Justice by the glare of Yuan Shi-kai's temporal triumph. The soothing function of the golden salve which he has borrowed has so monopolized their attention that they are now insensible to the sufferings of our poor people. But such cannot last forever. The incoming waves may cover the rock of Justice and Liberty, but as surely the ebbing tide must come, and that rock will stand again in majestic grandeur, purer and sweeter for the immersion. Let us abide the time when the truth shall reach the distant shores of other lands. And I must remind you that the truth has been kept back by inspired editorials and papers, and our

cause has been grossly misrepresented to foreigners in their own country. But can Yuan Shi-kai's hand obscure forever the heavens and prevent the Sun of Truth from beaming? No! Let 'Abide your time' be your motto; and let us turn our minds towards saving the nation from further distress."

His Compatriots begged Hwang Hsing to leave Nanking immediately, to escape the hired assassins of Yuan Shi-kai. He finally consented. He telegraphed to Yuan that he was leaving him master of the field, and implored him to withdraw his troops. He begged him to bend every effort towards the reconstruction of his bleeding country.

We next find Hwang Hsing in Japan, a refugee, to which place he had made his way through great dangers, for Yuan's agents were found even in Japan. Heaven, however, has decreed his preservation. His usefulness to his people and to the cause of Liberty is not ended.

III

GENERAL HWANG HSING A REFUGEE

AT the end of Chapter II we left General Hwang Hsing safely sheltered in the beautiful little Island Empire of the East. It may interest our readers to get a confidential glimpse of him in these surroundings, and learn of his hopes and aspirations for the future.

He lives in strict retirement. He has not returned a call, though his friends are many who have frequented his house ; to one of his sociable disposition nothing would have given him greater pleasure than to reciprocate in these friendly amenities. But is he downhearted and discouraged ; have his recent reverses and disappointments broken that master spirit that brooked neither dangers nor difficulties ?


No. He has not lost hope ; he does not think that his work is finished or that his high aspirations have been attained. He takes his banishment with a smiling face, for he feels that it is a Heaven-given respite to recuperate his energies and powers for the coming crowning effort.

He has secured the best teachers to teach him the English language; in unison with the waking birds in his garden at sunrise, we hear him repeating this sentence which his teacher has given him and which has struck in him a responsive chord: "Knowledge is Power." His thirst for knowledge is so keen that no difficulty is so great as to daunt him, so determined is he to reach the fountain head and taste of its revivifying draught.

The American Exclusion Laws

He looks towards America with yearning eyes. He has always longed to get first-hand knowledge of America's people and of their methods of Representative Government. But thus far he has not been able to obtain the proper documents to allow him to embark for "the land of the free and the home of the brave."

How regretful that our Exclusion Laws exclude men against whom they never meant to bar the door. The American people would no doubt gladly offer him a very warm welcome, for they have ever been champions of the oppressed. They would assure him that their doors are never barred to those who are exiled for the cause of human Liberty and Progress.



If necessary, some special and radical step should be taken by the American people to allow this Apostle of Liberty to enter our land. Yuan Shi-kai has sent a request to all Nations to bar the door against the refugees whom he wished to sacrifice upon the altar of his insatiable ambition. Nearly all civilized nations laughed at his request and gallant Japan even went farther and extended to those brave refugees an open hand. But our Exclusion Laws necessitate that every Chinese be provided with a passport viséed by Yuan's underlings before they can embark for an American port. Unless this regulation is removed, the only inference is that Yuan Shi-kai has, at least, the covert consent of this great nation to his barbarous schemes. The people of the United States, who espouse oppressed humanity the world over, should not permit such an insinuation to blot their fair record. The American people should not lose the great opportunity of helping to mould the opinions and sentiments of one who, in the near future, will again be actively leading China's millions in the path of Progress.

Putman Weale's Opinion

This man who has been annoyed and hindered by the American Exclusion Laws is aptly described

by Putman Weale, the Peking authority on China and the Chinese: "General Hwang Hsing is a man of action, and was the leading spirit of the Chinese Revolution. He is self-contained, reserved, and always remains in the background, waiting yet determined, but the world does well to keep an eye on this General, for it will hear from him sooner or later."

A Japanese View of Hwang Hsing

Or to view him from another angle, let us see what opinion the Japanese have of him, among whom he is now living. An eye-witness says: "He is never idle; when he is tired of studying, he turns his attention to his great collection of old Chinese paintings and writings with relish; he is very esthetic in his tastes. Or he may play a game of Japanese chess of which he is very fond. Still at other times, you may find him among stacks of paper and scrolls which he writes for his large circle of Japanese friends. The Japanese think the world of him, and indeed their Government has voluntarily sent a number of police and detectives to guard his house and to attend to his welfare. Sometimes he invites the notables of the land for a meal, and to those who enjoy the cup he will raise the sparkling glass to their health; but no one

ever knew him to drink enough to drown a fly. He might offer you a cigar, but no one ever saw the playful rings of smoke about his fine mouth."

An Ideal Family Man

In his family he is the very essence of purity and affection; even when Mistress Fortune beamed upon him her balmiest smiles, he was never guilty of excesses. His fatherly affections and solicitude get vent by spending midnight oil in writing to his children, of which he has six, who are now studying in New York and Holyoke. Can we name any of his faults? his friends have often asked. With one accord the answer is, "We cannot." Did he ever maltreat his servants? No! He is the soul of kindness and politeness to even his meanest coolie, and he would offer his helping hand in the most menial labour. Was he ever inconsiderate? We can find no one to say so; no guest ever entered his house but was made to feel welcome; no beggar ever applied at his door who went away empty-handed. In short, his very enemy, Yuan Shi-kai, never uttered a truer sentence than when he said, "Hwang Hsing is not only a superb Hero, but he is more, an Ideal Man."

The day will come when America will be sorry

if she does not, and glad if she does give this man a hearty welcome to come in and study our methods of Government.¹

¹Since the above was written General Hwang Hsing has left Japan for America and in justice to those in authority at Washington it should be said that successful efforts have been made to facilitate, in every way, General Hwang Hsing's entrance at San Francisco.

IV

GOVERNMENT UNDER YUAN SHI-KAI

IN the foregoing pages, Hwang Hsing has monopolized most of our attention, and in our endeavour to get a consecutive view of his character, aims and endeavours, we have surveyed the opposing Master Player only in so far as his actions served for the elucidation of our inquiry. But this narrative would be incomplete if we did not expose the Northern Champion to further scrutiny. Yuan Shi-kai has a personality which is difficult to match in any country. His ability and resourcefulness can but excite our wonder.

He is a native of the Honan Province. He started on his official career as secretary to his uncle who was a General, and who at that time was commissioned by the Throne to lead his troops into Korea. On the eve of their departure for Korea, the uncle suddenly died. Yuan Shi-kai took upon himself to act in his stead, and became the self-constituted Chinese Resident of Korea. He won the

good graces of Li Hung-chang, who was then the power behind the Dragon Throne. In a memorial, Li Hung-chang accurately sized up Yuan Shi-kai, when he referred to him as a man "full of daring." He is a man of great personal magnetism and possesses a most affable exterior; few men are his equal. It is not at all surprising that he has captivated the foreign Ministers in Peking.

With such a genius as Yuan Shi-kai as the President of China, there would be no limit to his possibilities, if the motives and aims actuating him were elevated, unselfish, and for the public welfare. Or if he had committed the outrages that are attributed to him so that some future good might come, historians might excuse and even extol him; as was the case with the founder of the Ts'in Dynasty, who, while exercising great tyranny and oppression, yet gave to the world one of its seven wonders—The Great Wall!

But should his aim and purpose be self-aggrandizement and unholy ambition for power, then so surely as night follows the day, his ill-gotten riches and power will melt away from him, as the summer snow, before the genial Sun of Liberty and racial Progress.

7

We shall briefly trace his career with as few sidelights and inferences as possible to elucidate the points under review. The war of 1894 between China and Japan was one of the most unnecessary in all history, and the result most disastrous to China; not only did she have to pay a huge indemnity after losing her fleet, but she lost forever her suzerainty over Korea and her possession of the Island of Formosa. The Korean Progressives at that time revolted against the Reactionaries who were quickly routed. All the high offices of State were soon refilled by the Korean Progressives under their leader, Kim O-Kiun, who, in the absence of reliable native troops, secured some of the Japanese Legation Guards to protect himself and the Royal Household.

Yuan Shi-kai in Korea

Yuan Shi-kai, knowing that a mere handful of Japanese gendarmes were holding the Palace against the Conservatives, seized this golden opportunity to promote his own interests. With infantry and artillery he advanced to the Palace, and demanded the instant withdrawal of the Japanese Guards. As the Japanese were under treaty obligations to render assistance to Korea when assist-

ance was sought, and as it was given upon the behest of the Head of the State, the Japanese refused, whereupon Yuan Shi-kai fired upon the Japanese Guard. Of course, there could be but one result; Mr. Yuan Shi-kai installed himself as the Protector of the Korean Royal Household; his love of intrigues gave him instant action; all the Conservative Korean Nobles were summoned, with the result that the Japanese Legation was destroyed and their Plenipotentiary had to hastily leave the Capital.

Some of our readers may remember that within three weeks the Japanese had a large and well equipped "Punitive Expedition" at Seoul; and it was at this juncture that Ex-Premier Tong Shao-yi saved Yuan Shi-kai by assisting him to cross the borders in disguise. Thence he made a rapid flight to Li Hung-chang's yamen, where his silver tongue not only vindicated his actions, but forced the old statesman to rush China into a humiliating war.

Yuan Shi-kai Betrays Emperor Kuang Hsu

After this defeat, the old Empress Dowager abdicated the Throne in favour of the Emperor, Kuang Hsu, who was pining to reform the country and better the conditions of the people. The

young Emperor sought the advice of the brilliant young Reformer, Kang Yu-wei, who was coming into prominence at that time. His advice was well given, but disastrously carried out. To reform China at this particular period, Kang said: "The first requisite is the concentration of military power in Your Majesty's own hand; and the second requisite is to obtain experienced Advisers, preferably those who have reformed an Asiatic nation, so that we not only avoid, but profit by the mistakes that they have made." H. M. Kuang Hsu sought the Reformer's plans for carrying out such a policy. Kang Yu-wei foolishly recommended Yuan Shi-kai to reorganize and command the army. The Emperor afterwards commissioned him to lead his army secretly upon Yung Lu, the great reactionary Viceroy of Chihli Province, and to order him in the name of the Emperor to vacate his post. Yuan Shi-kai solemnly undertook the mission, which to any other would have been sacred, but to him it was only another grand opportunity to advance his selfish interests. Instead of remaining loyal to the Emperor, he told a fabricated story to Yung Lu, which not only ingratiated himself with that high Dignitary, but also with his sister, the old Empress Dowager, Tze

Hsi. He told Yung Lu that in order to clear away all obstructions to his Reforms the Emperor had commissioned him to assassinate Yung Lu and then surround the Imperial Summer Palace and there to assassinate the old Empress Dowager. Such a tale had the desired electrifying effect. Yung Lu in company with Yuan Shi-kai went in the dead of night to expose the fabricated plot to the poor "Old Buddha," Tze Hsi, who was made the victim of the "Strong Man's" treachery. Some of our readers may think that expediency may suit the action better than treachery inasmuch as he, perhaps, had been commissioned to do that which his forces were unable to perform, and to save himself, he had to turn traitor. In this we must join issue, and remind them that "where there is a will there is a way." The soldiers that he commanded were sufficient to openly force Yung Lu's compliance or the Emperor would not have commissioned him. Turn to history and read how a handful of English soldiers during the Opium War surprised and forced their way through the great city of Peking to the very presence of the Emperor, Hsien Fung; or turn to the preceding pages and see how Hwang Hsing, at the head of one hundred "Braves," actually stormed and took the

Viceroy's yamen in that great southern emporium, Canton.

As to the results it is now well known that the old Empress Dowager was in a furor at what she had been told of her son's unnatural and awful intentions; and in an instant she, in company with her informers, went at breakneck speed to the Emperor's Palace, where she found him busy drafting his Reform Edicts. The good Emperor's protestations were unavailing. He was made a virtual prisoner, and was forever disqualified from undertaking the much needed Reforms he was so eminently fitted to carry out. The Reformer, Kang Yu-wei, had to flee the country, and scores of patriots were unmercifully sent to a Martyr's grave.

This *coup d'état* gave a great backset to enlightened thought, reforms, and progress. In a marvellously short time the country was plunged into that barbarous, disgraceful and humiliating Boxer uprising with its subsequent onerous load of indemnities.

From this it would seem that Mr. Yuan was a rank Reactionary at heart; or if he believed in the salvation of the country by Reforms, then he evidently was determined to keep down their revivi-

lying influence. These two seemed to be irreconcilable alternatives, and no midway consideration can merit the attention of a statesman. Hitherto his actions and sympathies lead us to think that he is a zealous supporter of Conservatism.

In the latter part of the year 1908, the old Empress Dowager became very ill. Up to about the time of her death, there was nothing about the Emperor that was unusual or alarming, but all of a sudden the world was startled by the almost simultaneous death of both the old Empress Dowager and the Emperor of China. The coincidence aroused a great deal of conjecture, and it was whispered, at the time, that Yuan Shi-kai, fearing the vengeance of the Emperor whom he had betrayed, should he again come into power, connived with the famous Chief Eunuch, Li, to poison H. M. Kuang Hsu. These suspicions almost became certainties upon the ascension of the Prince Regent, with the avowed purpose of beheading Yuan Shi-kai; but Chang Chih-tung intervened with a characteristic Chinese plea: that in decapitating such a high Mandarin his crimes must necessarily be proclaimed to the world, and as Yuan's crimes were so heinous and such a scandal to the nation, it would be unwise to give them publicity; and yet, without a plausible

reason being given, foreign Powers would not view such an execution with equanimity. Consequently, Yuan Shi-kai was cashiered upon the flimsy pretense of sending him away "to nurse his lame leg." But even this inadequate expiation for the enormity of his crimes courted very adverse comment from the foreign Ministers; and the Regent was accused of being a Conservative, of showing a narrow mind, and they said that "he could not tolerate such an enlightened and 'progressive' statesman as Yuan Shi-kai." Some of the Ministers were so officious as to be on the eve of championing his cause, when a little of the true *raison d'être* of his dismissal leaked out, which deterred them from taking the step.

**Though a Rank Conservative He Feigns to be a
Reformer**

How has our Conservative Champion been able to ingratiate himself with the Foreign Ministers and residents in China, and how is it that our former able leader of the Reactionaries is now known as the enlightened and "progressive" statesman? He has not forgotten that even Japan supported Reforms in Korea, and observations have shown him that the sympathy of the world is with Reformers, so he decided to snatch the laurels from

Kang Yu-wei and pose as an ardent Reformer. His period of power in Tientsin and Peking before his fall was Yuan's golden opportunity, and he improved it by going into Reforms so energetically that nearly the entire list of Reforms issued by H. M. Kuang Hsu were again brought forward by Yuan Shi-kai. He espoused the people's Rights and Liberty and wrung from the old Empress Dowager the solemn promise to grant the people a Constitution and a Representative Government, which he very well knew was going to prove a bugbear to the conservative Manchus who were jealous of their rights and prerogatives. No wonder then that he ingratiated himself with the foreign Ministers, and foreigners in general, aye, the Chinese progressives began to look to him as their Champion. If Mr. Yuan has proved false to Conservatism he must, perforce, have been the deadly enemy of the Manchu Dynasty.

**Had He Assisted the Reform Emperor the Tsing
Dynasty Would Have Lived**

This he no doubt was, for he saddled the nation through his intrigues with an onerous load of indemnities which has proved the undoing of the Chinese people. Had he assisted the Emperor to

carry out the much-needed Reforms, what a Power China could have been to-day. But instead he chose to nip those Reforms in the bud, and thus encouraged the spirit that was the parent of the fanatical Boxer outrage. All this was laid to Manchu misgovernment; and oppression, unmeant, was laid at their doors. If Yuan Shi-kai had not entered the political arena, the Tsing Dynasty would be flourishing to-day and the good-intentioned Emperor, Kuang Hsu, might be living to receive the grateful tributes of his people.

That Yuan Shi-kai was the arch-enemy of the Manchus, no one questions. But is he a true Disciple of Democracy and a sincere Champion of the people's Rights? What benefits are to be conferred on the people to compensate them for the impoverishment, sufferings, and humiliation that he caused? If the subsequent record of Yuan Shi-kai cannot disclose some such great blessing, then he has at best but promoted himself, and future generations shall regret the day that gave him birth.

Perhaps the reader doubts that he wittingly undermined the Government he served. Let us proceed. When the Revolution of 1911 was in full swing, foreigners and Chinese loyalists alike urged

upon the reluctant Regent to recall Yuan Shi-kai from retirement, and, in deference to their judgment, the Edict went forth calling him to duty. Instead of a spontaneous response prompted by loyalty, he remained undecided, giving as his plea the lack of plenipotentiary powers, while in reality he was waiting to see which way the wind blew. General Wu Lu-ching was in Peking at that time; he was greater than Yuan in power, loyalty and sincerity of heart and purpose; he saw through Yuan Shi-kai and petitioned the Throne protesting against his recall. That same General, the only remaining pillar of the tottering Manchu Throne, soon after fell at the hand of an assassin. Is it not a queer "coincident" that that very assassin is now one of Yuan Shi-kai's most confidential and trusted underlings? In sore distress, the Throne granted everything demanded by Yuan Shi-kai; and yet he hesitated. However, the time did arrive when even a child knew that the die was cast and that the "Ta Tsing Dynasty" was destined for an early grave. Not till then do we see Yuan Shi-kai going to Peking. He sent his bosom friend, Tong Shao-yi, to negotiate peace with General Hwang Hsing, giving him assurances that he had sufficient troops to force the Emperor to abdicate if General Hwang

Hsing would waive his claim to the Presidency in Yuan's favour, and use his influence to secure his nomination. How very transparent ! He subverts a Dynasty, and entails its millions in untold misery and bloodshed, to confer upon that outraged people the inestimable boon, A "PRESIDENT," YUAN SHI-KAI !

He Has Not Assisted Republicanism

To expiate the gross wrongs and injuries that he has done, and to wipe out the dishonour and suffering that he has brought upon the Chinese nation, not even the genius of Yuan Shi-kai can atone. However, he could, by a benign and public-spirited policy, do a great deal to mitigate the old scores against him. But, as we have seen in the previous pages, immediately after his election as the Provisional President, he augmented his Northern army with feverish energy, sent out traitorous underlings to ferment trouble in the Southern Provinces, sent out Northern hordes to occupy the strategical centres there and actually commenced a heartless war for the extermination of the patriots of the Revolution and all others who had the moral stamina to stand for the people's Rights and Liberty. His systematic obstructions of Parliament, by first instigating the atrocious murder of China's

brightest, most talented, and patriotic parliamentarian, Sung Chiao-jen, and by the free stimulation of graft, bribery, greed, and vice in every Department of State, shows which way the wind is blowing.

The suppression of the public voice, by either subsidizing or forcibly muzzling the Press, and by a most unwarranted censorship of both foreign and Chinese telegrams; by placing China under the galling financial shackles of the Quintuple and other foreign loans to pamper his love of power and reckless extravagance; and to finally Egyptianize China, is the inevitable result of his policy.

To rid the land of Democracy he goads the South to open rebellion. To clean out a great national political party he institutes an inquisition, the worse than which was not seen even in Spain. To obtain his election he secured the votes of a reluctant Parliament by intimidation and military force. To gratify his insatiable thirst for power he tears the Constitution into shreds and flings it into the face of Parliament, and when that Body did not take such courtesies with a smile, by a single stroke of his pen he unseated over four hundred members and virtually swept that vital Representative Institution from the field of Chinese politics.

He Does Not Measure Up Either to Eastern or Western Ideals

As Dr. Gilbert Reid, President of the International Institution in Shanghai, has said: "It is most difficult to reach any unanimous agreement or spirit of concord in the judgment of individuals. When we proceed to judge others, feelings are stirred, personalities are indulged in and prejudices are unavoidable. In the judgment of others we must be guided by right principles, and find out how far each man follows those principles which are generally recognized as sound and binding.

"There are three principles: Liberty, Unity, and Sacredness of Life. These are inalienable Rights, and being so must be protected. Closely connected with these principles, a fourth may be mentioned as being most important. This principle is that *we should rely less on physical and military force than on Truth, Righteousness and Reason*. Christ said to one of His disciples: 'Put up again thy sword into its place, for all that take the sword shall perish by the sword'; and again the good Pharisee said in the trial of St. Peter, before the Jewish Council:—'If this work be of men it will come to naught. But if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it, lest perhaps ye be found even to fight against God.' "

The teachings of Confucius are quite as pronounced ; he taught his disciples to "rely less on government and punishments than on virtue and propriety." And Mencius more to the point says that "in reliance on force the people in their hearts will not give true submission, but in reliance on virtue the people will be happy and truly submissive." "All men have a complete confidence in the final supremacy of right." These principles and quotations pronounce an eloquent sentence on Yuan Shi-kai as a man, and the futility of his policy as an administrator. Some of our readers may say : "That savours too much of the pulpit ;" then let us see what another man of prominence in Shanghai, an old and respected citizen, whose knowledge of China and the Chinese is head and shoulders above most. He comes upon the stage of political crisis and controversy, not for the sake of airing his wide knowledge or ripe experience, much less with an axe to grind ; but this old Savant has rather been actuated with an earnest desire to clean the mirror for those that are far from the scene, so that they may get a correct perspective of actual facts, and be prepared to lend their moral support and assistance to that side of the struggle which really deserves their sympathy.

Mr. W. V. Drummond has grappled with the situation in a bold and impartial way, and has brightened the gloomy pages of the *Shanghai Daily* with his articles on "China To-day," written with that terseness of style and that logical sequence which is well suited to an adept of the Bar.

Mr. W. V. Drummond Describes Present Conditions

In his July article in *The North China Daily News* he attacks foreign loans, and says in unmistakable language that loans to China *now* are simply throwing good money after bad; that the loans of the Quintuple Group are injurious to the welfare of China, and that independent loans from parties outside the group are far worse.

At this point it might be of interest to mention that Dr. Sun Yat-sen, upon the eve of the conclusion of the Quintuple Loan, sent a cablegram to all the Powers begging them to withhold the payment of that Loan for just such reasons, that otherwise it would free previously liened revenues and incomes for Yuan Shi-kai to wage war upon the people. No doubt the reader remembers the withering criticisms and unbridled raillery that stormed the Southern Party, and stigmatized that patriotic warning as "a malicious threat, the whin-

ing effervescence of disgruntled office-seekers, and the unwarranted obstruction of political plotters." But our Savant and the results, as we now calmly review them, show that the foreign world little knew what the Chinese people were suffering, and for once it was sadly mistaken! Besides this there were two vital issues concomitant with the Five Powers as guarantors of the Quintuple Loan.

1st. The new position created places China under a kind of protectorate of Russia, France, Germany, England and Japan. This position had never existed before the signing of the Quintuple Loan, and it is a radical alternation politically, to which our legal Savant rightly attached great importance. *2nd.* In the conditions of the Loan, the four officers appointed by the Powers have very wide powers, and involve the germ of a Debt Commission; and Mr. Drummond correctly foresees that with reckless and lavish expenditures upon unprofitable military enterprises, through more borrowing and with the Powers bent upon Egyptianizing China, that a Debt Commission will be an actual fact. And yet foreign friends of Mr. Yuan bade China keep mum, and submit gracefully to Yuan Shi-kai and his colleagues! "Yuan Shi-kai is hoping to maintain his position and obtain

the Throne by the support of Foreign Powers, in return for which he will allow Japan to annex a large part of Manchuria, give over Mongolia to Russia, and Tibet to Great Britain."

The Causes of Anarchy and Riot

Mr. W. V. Drummond's second article appeared in the August issue of 1913, under the same title "China To-day." We will ask our readers to bear with us while we give some quotations from this article, for the conclusions are reached right in the midst of the scene, and at that time when "The Punitive Expedition Against Yuan Shi-kai" was in full swing. The observations were made with a knowledge and experience qualified by years of actual contact, and they show what an impartial observer saw of those actual abuses that goaded the Republican South to take up arms against their Chief Magistrate. He writes: "It seems desirable to give a brief sketch of some of the factors that make up the conditions now existing in China. There are five classes of men who are the active causes of anarchy and riot: 1, robbers, 2, pirates, 3, smugglers, 4, disbanded soldiers, 5, destitutes.

"There have always been robbers in all parts of China, but their numbers have greatly increased

since the Revolution started, and are now rampant everywhere. Pirates have always existed on the coast and internal waters of China, but these too have largely increased in number and during the last eighteen months. The same observations apply to smugglers. Disbanded soldiers are, comparatively speaking, a new element of disorder, and are now perhaps the most dangerous of all. Destitutes, principally from districts devastated by famine, are always to be found wandering about in China, and from sheer hunger are driven to join themselves to the elements of disorder. These five classes of active anarchists are now to be found in all parts of the country in great numbers and help to keep up a state of fear and unrest everywhere.

The Agitators

“The next factors to be considered are the agitators. They are principally to be found in three classes, namely, (1) The Students who have obtained in Japan or some other country a smattering of foreign knowledge without acquiring the foreign characteristics that are necessary for the sound use of foreign knowledge. These men are nearly all very young, and consider themselves superior to the rest of their countrymen. The next class are,

(2) the Editors and others connected with Chinese Newspapers. The remarks made as to class (1) apply to this class also. The next class is, (3) Ex-Officials who are out of office, and whose sole desire is to get back into office, and who have few, if any, scruples as to the means they adopt to achieve their purpose. The foregoing gives a brief mention of the actual authors of the anarchy that is now pervading the country. Taking them altogether, they constitute only a small fraction of the entire population, of which *the vast majority are peaceable, law-abiding and industrious*. The dividing point just now is not between the North and the South, but between Peking and the Provinces. What I have just written, so far, applies more especially to the Provinces; but some analysis of the position at Peking is necessary in order to give anything approaching a comprehensive view of the present conditions of the country as a whole.

The Old Evils Still

“At Peking the present state of affairs is extraordinarily anomalous. First, a Provisional President who functions as a Dictator. Next a Cabinet of fourth-rate men, who are a feeble echo of the Provisional President; and lastly, a Parlia-

ment that does not function at all. Since the establishment of the Republic, not one single step forward on the road leading to honest administration of the country has yet been made. All the old evils that existed under the Manchu Monarchy exist still, some in an exaggerated form, and the people of China and the outside world look vainly, so far, for Reforms. The Officials at Peking are more anti-foreign than ever, and reject all advice from foreigners capable and willing and anxious to help them. To take one instance as an illustration. It is a matter of common knowledge that it is extremely important for China to have the administration of the Salt Gabelle thoroughly and quickly reorganized, yet the officials are resisting in every way the efforts of a skilled foreign Expert to reform it.

“Even if the Central Government was sincerely anxious to reform the Gabelle, it would be a matter of immense difficulty, but with the Central Government hostile, any reform is quite impossible, and the position is absolutely absurd. Even if sufficient pressure is brought to bear on the Government by the foreign Powers and a pretense of acquiescence is made, then the moment any attempt at reform is made in the salt districts, active resistance will

begin on the spot with the connivance and approval of the Government, and all attempts at improvements will be defeated. It may be said that such a course is wholly improbable, as the Government must wish to get a large revenue from the Gabelle, and must wish to make it a more valuable security on which to obtain loans. On the face of it that is a very plausible view, but there are circumstances to show it fallacious.

The Move on the Customs

“The Central Government has two special objects in view at present. The first is to alarm the foreign Powers as much as possible as to the terrible consequences that will happen if China is allowed to become openly bankrupt, and a Debt Commission is appointed; and the second is to show that China has at present no further security to offer for more loans. The real great object is to get the foreign Powers to agree to an increase of the Custom duties by an additional seven and one-half per cent. This immediately would yield an enormous increase of the revenue from the Customs, and the increase would itself be security for further loans to a prodigious amount.

“This would also, from a Chinese standpoint, have the inestimable advantage of making foreigners,

that is foreign trade, provide all the extra money obtained, and the still further advantage of leaving all Chinese methods of administration free from foreign interference.

“The Government knows perfectly well that the foreign Powers must be made to despair of saving China from bankruptcy in any other way, as the foreign Powers and mercantile communities will be intensely adverse to this enormous addition to the burdens on foreign trade.

“The plans are therefore carefully and secretly made, and it is high time that all foreigners in China, and in foreign countries trading with China, awake to the impending danger of a new and a crushing impost upon foreign trade, and examine the whole question with a view to concerted action before it is too late. A great deal may be done towards compelling China to take such steps in the direction of true Reforms as would render an increase of Custom duties unnecessary. But besides this, it would, in the end, be far better to let China become bankrupt, and establish a Debt Commission, which means the beginning of a great and truly healthy Reform, rather than throw into her lap a vast amount of revenue, and give her the means of borrowing more money to an almost un-

limited amount, as both additional revenue and the new loans would be squandered to a very large extent, no matter how many auditors, etc., were appointed, and would leave China, in a comparatively short time, in a worse condition than ever. This rapidly approaching emergency requires most urgent and careful attention from all foreigners having business interests in or connected with China.

Wheels Within Wheels

“Something should be said as to the real position of affairs in Peking at present. The common idea, both at Peking and in the Provinces, is that Yuan Shi-kai is now coming out to show his whole strength, that he has absolute power, and is now prepared to use it. I have good reason to believe that that is not really a correct view, and that, though his disposition remains very autocratic, he is weakening in his grasp of affairs, and is not complete master of the situation in Peking. There is an evil spirit now in high places, and a rapid and colossal fortune as that made by that notorious Chief Eunuch, Li, of the late Dynasty, is being accumulated, and *Yuan Shi-kai allows it to be so. Corruption is as rampant as in the very worst of Manchu times*, and nothing is safe from rapacity.

"To mention one instance alone. The railways that produce a very large revenue are being ruthlessly bled, the employees have difficulty in getting their salaries and wages, and the plants are being allowed to deteriorate. They need repair to such an extent that there will soon be a collapse, and a large amount of money will have to be found and spent for putting the plants and rolling stock into proper order again. *Peking needs purging much more than the Provinces.* The time has fully come for the great Powers to put aside day-to-day opportunism, and to grapple the tremendous problem in China in a true spirit of prescience. The thorns and thistles of corruption and misgovernment that are choking the life of the country must be eradicated.

Methods of Barbarism

"China is still governed by barbarous methods. Proofs of this are seen daily ; one may be mentioned as an illustration.

"The large sums of money actually offered by the Government for the capture of certain individual names, 'dead or alive,' is a most shocking encouragement to deliberate murder for the sake of a money reward, and an act of savagery. The pretense, put forward, that the rewards were only 'for

the arrest and conviction' of the rebels named, is not worthy of a moment's consideration. 'Conviction' implies a full and fair trial of a prisoner, but such a trial is unheard of, and is utterly impossible now in China. Men are being captured, and shot or beheaded immediately, without any pretense of a trial. The rewards offered were simply an incitement to murder, and to get an enemy out of the way and nothing else. The country is reeking with anarchy and bloodshed, and China is drifting along like a helpless derelict at sea, and needs to be taken in charge and towed into a safe port where she can be refitted for a new lease of life.

The Chinese a Splendid People

"Words cannot express the sorrow that one feels to see a country that contains so vast a *population of excellent, law-abiding, easily-governed people being brought to ruin and loss of independence* by the gross incompetence and turpitude of a comparatively few people!

"The Officials of the Manchu times were so bad that it was universally believed both by Chinese and foreigners that any change must be for the better, and the Revolution was hailed with joy when it began, yet deep disappointment soon set

in, after a Republic was declared and the work seen and for a long time past the general verdict of the public about the state of affairs amongst officials has been 'A hundred times worse than the Manchu.'

"Although so many of the officials and business classes have so deteriorated, yet the immense population of the poorer classes and the country people of China are still sound, and *above the average of the same classes in many countries* in the world. They would most gladly welcome a just, firm Government, and while they would give a warm support, they have not the power of initiative for the establishment of such a government. China is falling into the position of Turkey, Persia and Mexico; but with such a fine race of people as a whole, the pity of it is inexpressible! The one thing that is needed to produce real Reform in China is that *public opinion should be raised throughout the upper classes to a higher plane, and should be so strong as to compel every one to conform in his actions to the standard demanded.* The only way that public opinion can be so raised is *by means of compulsory education of every kind, in every department, for a period of thirty years,* and the question is, by whom is that education to be supplied and enforced?

"The answer to that question contains the key to the solution of the great Chinese problem.

"Yuan Shi-kai now comprises the whole Chinese Government. His Presidential orders are of the same style and almost equal in beauty of thought and expressions to the old Manchu Decrees, but the *Presidential Actions fall as far behind the Orders as the Manchus fell behind their Decrees*, and there are glimmerings that the country recognizes this and resents it, and it is this feeling that lies at the very root of the present discontent throughout the country and the consequent resistance to Peking. This is a healthy discontent, the first sign of the formation of the elements of Public Opinion, and the only hopeful sign in the position to-day."

Mr. Drummond in very emphatic language pronounces: that of all the evils and corruptions that China is now heir to, they are deliberately fostered by Yuan Shi-kai, as "Yuan Shi-kai now comprises the whole Government of China"; and through him the Republic has been rendered a sad, sad failure, to such an extent "that the thorns and thistles of corruption and misgovernment that were choking the life of the country" in the worst Manchu times not only exist, but exist "a hundred times worse" in that hot-bed of corruption, Peking. In

unmistakable terms he states the naked truth, that "Peking needs purging much more than the Provinces." He further unveils the monstrous plans of Yuan Shi-kai and his coteries to further dupe the world and more heartlessly fleece and bleed poor China; and under those circumstances he rightly concludes that of the two evils it is far better to let China become bankrupt rather than throw into Yuan Shi-kai's lap a vast amount of additional revenue and loans which will surely be squandered. His long acquaintance and contact with the Chinese makes his testimony, that "the Chinese are excellent, law-abiding, and easily governed people," of immense value. What splendid qualities in a people upon which to build Self-Rule and Republicanism; that form of government which gives the amplest scope for the development of the individual traits in a people. He justly concludes that "*the present discontent throughout the country and the consequent resistance to Peking is a healthy discontent, and the only hopeful sign in the position to-day.*"

All those who have an intimate acquaintance with China, and all true and impartial friends of the Chinese will endorse most of his observations and cannot but admire the accuracy of them. Who

knows but that his timely and frank exposition of "The move on the Customs" and his trenchant attack on the ruthless bleeding in the administration of the Salt Gabelle and Railways may have a beneficial effect on those who are responsible?

We could continue piling villainy upon infamy, and treachery upon atrocities against Yuan Shi-kai, and facts could be produced to substantiate every accusation, yet it is well to leave him as pictured by the keen mind and judicial head whose words we have quoted. Further description of a man, verily strong in his sins and atrocities, is neither edifying nor pleasant to the reader or to the writer.

V

RETROSPECT AND FORECAST

IN the foregoing pages an effort was made to give a true and faithful picture of the two great Champions of recent Chinese history. Some may think that we have dwelt too much on the virtues of the one and have not given as detailed a picture of the other Champion. Let us proceed. The admirers of Yuan Shi-kai may give glowing accounts of his prowess, but they can never substantiate any tale of his rectitude and unsullied character. He may be very affectionate in his family circles, if one who divides his loyalty between the members of a harem can be said to have affection ; but inquiry into his private life is not essential for our purpose. We would not have touched upon this point at all save to make a comparison between the health and vigour of Hwang Hsing and the premature decrepitude of Yuan Shi-kai. We have seen that noble character, lofty aspiration, determination, fortitude, sincerity of heart and purpose, and unselfishness, almost to a fault,

have been prominent features of Hwang Hsing throughout his entire life and career. With an absorbing enthusiasm, consistently working for the elevation and welfare of his race, Hwang Hsing has imparted that same spirit to the Movement he led. The world was for a time dazzled by its splendour. Most of his Compatriots are imbued with the same spirit and enthusiasm. The reader may ask how many of that faithful and patriotic band of Compatriots are still on the field of action, and are there any other able leaders among them? Yes. Many of that old "Compatriot Association," and many who have since joined their ranks, are men of unusual parts. It has been no intentional slight on the writer's part not to have mentioned their names, but it is because our effort has been to reveal the real Mainspring of the Revolution and because we have not time to describe its component parts. Suffice it to say that there are the Ex-Tu-tus, Li Lieh-chun, Chan Chiung-ming, Hu Han-min, Chan Chi-mei; General Lim-fu, who with a force of one thousand men held at bay an enemy many times their number, and were "the terror of the Northern troops" during the second Revolution. Again Chang Chi, the Speaker of the Senate, and still again, Tsen Chun-hsuan, that great

Ex-Viceroy of the two Kuang Provinces and of Sze-Chuan, and the son of one of the greatest Generals of the Manchu Régime, who was accorded the highest praise and honour in Yunnan, Kwei-Chou Provinces, and the Southwest generally.

A Tribute to Sun Yat-sen

The ability, force, public spirit, sincerity of purpose in the administrations of these patriots is hard to match in any land. And last but not least, let us add one other name, a name that is known not only throughout China but throughout the world, Dr. Sun Yat-sen. The world knows full well that he was a great factor in bringing about the transformation in China's Government. He has for years been working in perfect harmony with Hwang Hsing, and has done splendid work in preparing the sentiments of foreign countries for those transforming scenes that have taken place; while Hwang Hsing devoted his exclusive attention to directing the great Movement within the confines of China, and to preparing the Chinese people for those vital changes. After Dr. Sun's exile and banishment, because of his Revolutionary efforts in Canton some years ago, he visited nearly all the great countries of the world, and has

tried to study their customs and institutions so as to thoroughly fit himself for a life of greater usefulness in his own country.

Yuan Shi-kai Not "The Only Man"

With such a host of talented men, foreign partisans of Yuan may persist in saying that Yuan Shi-kai is "The only Man." But it is a ridiculous assertion on the face of it. In such a sea of humanity as is contained in China, and with such a diversity of talents and qualifications, it stands to reason that there must be other men capable of piloting the Ship of State into the haven of peace and prosperity. "Men who with half the assistance and support that Yuan has received from foreign Powers would develop into veritable giants: Washingtons or Lincolns."

The inexpressible shame is that such an immense number of the brightest minds and public spirited men must now take refuge in Japan and elsewhere just because their talents and gifts might jeopardize the arbitrary power of a Dictator.

Nor are these Refugees without the broad sympathy characteristic of the whole Chinese race. While for the time being their voices are constrained, in their hearts they hate the very name

of their Despotic Ruler. They cannot but see, as Mr. Drummond has said, "that the general verdict relative to Yuan and his Government is one hundred times worse than the Manchus."

Foreign Nations Are Opening Their Eyes

Even foreign Nations are beginning to understand the situation, and Great Britain, who was the most ardent and blindest supporter of Yuan Shikai, now questions the policy of the Quintuple Loan. *The London Times*, in an article headed "Cosmopolitan Finance in China," resounds in unmistakable tones on "the failure of the Quintuple Group to effect its object, to restrain China from reckless spending," and demands a change of British policy regarding China. The Japanese, who have had a remarkable insight throughout the struggle, are emphatic in their denunciation of "Yuan the Tyrant." We quote from the *Japan Mail*: "If the side which first lays its hand on its weapons is to be considered as the one who opens the conflict, then the President (Yuan) cannot be cleared of the charge. It is also noteworthy that such action on the part of the President followed the conclusion of the Loan." The Japanese *Gazette* asserts that "since the establishment of the Repub-

lic in Peking the Nationalist Party have made it their duty to promote the status of their New Régime among the Powers, and endeavoured at the same time to extend their influence by means of a regular political campaign."

On the other hand Yuan resorted to arms in order to expand his power; witness the armed forces he dispatched to Shanghai, and other places south of the Yangtse, where the headquarters of the Nationalists were located, with the intention of instigating them to take up arms against the Peking Government. The *Japan Times* continues the same strain, and adds that "even if the Nationalists or Southerners suffer a crushing defeat in the hostilities now pending, the peace in China will not be permanently restored so long as Yuan Shi-kai and the Nationalists remain at loggerheads."

At a subsequent date the plucky "Little Japs" directed a well deserved retort to their "Bully Allies" of *The London Times* and the *Pall Mall Gazette*, saying: "We fail to understand why President Yuan Shi-kai is regarded by our London Contemporary, and apparently by English men in general, as the only man in China capable of controlling that country, and why every criticism directed

against his administration should be discredited. It is true that Mr. Yuan is one of the greatest men China has produced, but if such a treacherous, insincere statesman as Mr. Yuan was in British political circles, the English people would not allow him to remain in office even a day. Is it meant that so long as Britain's commercial interests in China are maintained or considered possible of expansion under the control of President Yuan, no attention need be paid to the character of his administration, whatever its effect on Chinese civilization, and whatever the condition of the 400,000,000 of Chinese people, because they are 'only Orientals'? If this be the case, English men's interest in the development of China are purely selfish and one may be led to believe that Britain desires Mr. Yuan to remain in power solely because she thinks this is calculated to ensure the promotion of her own interests in the Chinese Republic."

"The Strong Man"—A Mistaken Idea

In looking over many of the foreign Dailies and Periodicals throughout China, one is struck with the similarity of the expression that "Yuan Shi-kai is the Strong Man of the Orient." One is utterly nonplussed to account for the apparent inability of

foreign Editors to even reason logically in face of that universal assertion.

Can it be that they are all inspired, or may it be a hypnotic suggestion that has deprived these "Moulders of Public Opinion" of their reasoning powers? Or may it be the natural reverence of Might in the brain calibre of Occidentals? Or again may it be that sordid interests have indeed deadened their capacity for clear logical thought? Whatever it may be, they are to be much pitied, and the immediate future will reveal the stern fact that the high respect and sense of justice and equity that the Chinese have hitherto entertained concerning Westerners has been shocked by this blind and unwise partisanship in another country's affairs.

Yuan Shi-kai Does Not Measure Up to the Moral Codes

But let us put another criterion of strength to the "Strong Man of the Orient," and see if he emerges from the crucial test like pure and refined gold. Does Yuan Shi-kai's strength consist in strength of body, of character, of magnanimity, of equity and justice, in filial piety, or in learning and attainments, or in reforms, or in policy, or in military exploits, or yet again in wise administration?

Yuan Shi-kai is not a picture of health and strength, judging from his own statement. He has said that he has to keep up such an excessive temperature in his room and has to be in a state of continual perspiration in order to feel comfortable. His gouty legs force him to give distracted days and sleepless nights to their nursing. So he surely cannot be a Chinese Hercules !

We have seen that his propensities highly inclined towards chicanery, insincerity, treachery and opportunism. But do Occidentals call these strength in a Ruler ? If so, we submit that the doctrines of all their teachers do not give approbation, and distinctly advocate the very opposite as the necessary attributes for a strong Ruler and a prosperous government. Turn to Confucius, whom Yuan professes to worship, so as to get Confucian support, although he hoodwinked the Christian world when he wanted its support by asking for the prayers of Christendom. We do not wish the reader to think that we are quarrelling about either of those pious acts, but we are constrained to denounce the impious motive behind them. But to show the position taken by his professed Philosopher in defining the attributes of strength in a Ruler, Confucius upon being asked what should be done to inspire loyalty, the founda-

tion of power for a Ruler, said : "Treat the people with seriousness and they will respect you ; be filial and kind to all and they will be loyal to you. Advance the upright and set aside the crooked, then the people will submit ; advance the crooked and set aside the upright and the people will rebel."

Again he says, "If a Ruler is correct in his personal conduct, there is no need to issue orders in order to secure allegiance to the government. If he is not correct in his personal conduct, he may issue orders but they will not be obeyed." Our Strong Man falls lamentably short of these requirements of strength ; and he has sinned, and sinned grievously against the fundamental principles laid down by all Eastern Teachers as requisites for strong and healthy Governments.

Confucian righteousness he has not, nor has he the benevolence of Mencius, nor still again has he the spirit of compassion and mercy that Buddha strove to inculcate upon the Rulers of his time. Our Strong Man will find that upon magnanimity, equity and justice hangs his destiny. He has set at defiance those immortal words of the compassionate Buddha when he said, "Never is wrath stilled by wrath, only by reconciliation ; this is an everlasting law."

Men, no doubt, are often creatures of mixed

motives, and in a man like Yuan Shi-kai, when consuming ambitions possess his faculties, they may so distort his mental equilibrium that in the execution of appalling injustice, he may by an incomprehensible process of subconscious reasoning still really think that he is doing all for the good of his country. But such persons usually, when they attain the goal of their ambition, show a magnanimity worthy of true men. So that having secured the Quintuple Loan, broken the back of Parliament, and driven his great Opposition Leader, Hwang Hsing, from his Fatherland, Yuan Shi-kai should have seized the golden opportunity and should have said as the illustrious General Grant said when he had the Confederates at his feet: "Let us have Peace." He would then have conferred on China an infinite blessing, which would have won the hearts of Northerners and Southerners alike. In that he did not pursue this course he showed to the world that he had ulterior motives. Instead of turning Opportunity to his advantage, he pushed his Northern hordes to sack Nanking! The victory was not worth the winning.

The Sacking of Nanking

Dr. Macklin said of this battle and victory: "Indeed a most barren victory, then the horrors be-

gan, a sack like that of Magdelburg under Tilly, or Antwerp under Ava ! It was not one General at fault, all were a pack of Huns looting, murdering, ravishing, and Nanking is now under uncanny fires. It is a Government thing ; foreign advocates of the Government do not blame the Government ; *herein is the menace*, the South is to be garrisoned by such troops. Is there any certainty that Soochow, Ningpo and Hangchow will not follow suit ? I see none, unless the South can get a Marius or a Cæsar." And yet foreigners say Yuan Shi-kai is the "Only Man" in China !

The Murder of Ting Pao-chen

Yuan Shi-kai further irritated the gaping wound that he had made by instituting a most cruel inquisition even in the heart of the Shanghai Settlements, as well as in the interior. His agents utterly disregarded the laws and regulations of the Model Settlements, and kidnapped, attacked and assassinated at their sweet will, so that the Shanghai Assessor propounded that pertinent question in Court, "Who is safe ?" But what is worse, he has resorted to Judicial Murder. An Editor in Peking, a Mohammedan by faith, named Ting Pao-chen, was caught and summarily executed on the

morning of the 19th of August, 1913, with no formal announcement of his crime. It appears that an enemy secretly informed the Military Tribunal that Ting Pao-chen had received a letter from General Hwang Hsing, asking him to aid the Punitive Expedition; thorough search revealed no confirmation or proof but Yuan and his coteries were thirsty for innocent blood.

Judicial Murders Everywhere

Dr. Gilbert Reid in one of his lectures naively remarked that "The followers of Mohammed make strong supporters of good Government, and equally strong foes of bad Government. A country like China with millions of Moslems needs to be on guard as to its attitude to righteousness and justice, for on this attitude depends the position for or against the Government of a strong, intellectual and determined class of the Chinese people." Surely Yuan is trifling with fire and in time the "Strong Man" may find himself not strong enough to cope with the combined strength of strong opponents! Space limits the description of detailed slaughter. Suffice it to say that there were wholesale kidnapping, arresting and decapitating of the remnants of that foredoomed Parliament. This

murderous outbreak was not confined to one locality. There were wholesale as well as retail Judicial Murders in Wuchang and Canton also. Chan King-wah, the able and energetic Chief of Police of Canton, and his brother were summarily shot after being trapped by Tu-Tu Lung at a banquet by the order of Yuan Shi-kai.

The Hong Kong Press got quite excited over the execution and said: "The crime is a procedure such as the civilized world associates with the savage tribes of Central Africa; a ruse difficult to characterize in adequate terms of reprobation; a cold-blooded murder, and a disgrace to the Provisional Constitution under which the so-called Republic of China is supposed to be governed," etc. Yet another instance to show the savage blood-curdling character of the man. The reader may remember that Hwang Hsing in his attack on the Viceroy's yamen in Canton lost seventy of his Band of Dare-to-Dies. It is hard to believe that one whose very Office was made possible by the sacrifice of these men could stoop to such an act as must be recorded. Be one ever so ingenious at guessing, one would never imagine that such a thing could occur in this age. Yuan Shi-kai ordered their remains to be dug up and cast to the four winds!

He Lacks Filial Piety

As to filial piety. We have his own brother's statement that: "Yuan Shi-kai was the most undutiful son and the most unbrotherly brother that ever drew the breath of life."

His Learning Rather Limited

In regard to his learning and attainments, his fellow provincials make him out an ignoramus. This is perhaps going too far, yet it is a fact that he never passed a Chinese Civil Service Examination, but launched into politics with a bought title. Therefore, he cannot be a giant in the field of literary attainments.

His Past History Shows He Is Not a Sincere Reformer

Is he a true sincere Reformer? Here we are on the solid ground of Fact.

We have seen that his actions hitherto have been very questionable regarding Reforms. In Korea he championed her Conservative and Reactionary Party against the Progressives, which cost China a most humiliating war, and Korea her independence.

In China he championed the Reactionaries, with the result that the good Emperor, Kuang Hsu, was

put into confinement and Kang Yu-wei exiled, scores of Reformers lost their heads, and brought on the grand climax—the Boxer disgrace with its onerous indemnities.

Perhaps some readers are ready to deny Yuan's connections with the Boxer movement. It is not to be wondered at; all the foreign Ministers in Peking were fooled into thinking that if it had not been for Mr. Yuan there was no knowing what those fanatics would have done.

But it is a mistaken notion; turn to history: Yuan Shi-kai was promoted to the Governorship of Shantung Province on the 26th of December, 1899, and the Missionary, Rev. Brooks, was murdered by the Boxers, close to the capital of Yuan's province, on the 31st of December, five days after his appointment. Possibly people excuse Yuan on the grounds that he might not have had time to get control, but they cannot pardon his procrastination of five whole months before advising the Throne to suppress the barbarous uprising. Just as, during the Revolution of 1911, he sat on the fence just long enough to know "which way the wind was blowing," so did he sit at the beginning of the Boxer outbreak. His call for Christian prayers soon after his election to the presidency was to

curry favour and dupe the foreign nations. For it was only a few weeks till Confucianism was made the State religion by his order.

A Policy of Duplicity and Cunning

From the very beginning his has been a vacillating policy; assimilation, duplicity, and cunning seem to be his platform; but the one underlying foundation of all is his supreme selfish ambition.

His Military Exploits

If we turn to his military exploits, there is little to praise. He has subdued a Rebellion of his own making. He has increased the number of his troops. Other military men have willingly yielded to him for the public welfare. He is further assisted by the Powers to finance his army. What credit is due him in this regard? The wonder is that he is not stronger. The defiant and punitive depredations of Peh Liang, the "White Wolf," are taxing his every resource; these depredations by White Wolf were undertaken for the specific purpose of avenging the perfidy of Yuan Shi-kai in enticing two Generals of the Revolution of 1911 into Peking, and who were summarily executed without even the semblance of a trial. White Wolf has

sworn that he will not cease till his comrades are avenged.

His Administration Shows "Absence of Statesmanship"

As to Yuan Shi-kai's administrative powers. Mr. W. V. Drummond, from whose writings we have already quoted, and who, though deceived in Yuan at first, soon saw him in his true proportions, in one of his late articles said: "He is undoubtedly an extremely cunning Opportunist, but the blunders that he has committed since the Revolution began, and is now committing, show an utter absence of statesmanship. He is believed to be growing in power, and he is strengthening his position in all parts of the country, and this leads to the further belief that the hour has found the man. He is a Triton amongst minnows, but even the minnows do not rush to him for protection but rather flee from him. He cannot get men to serve under him by even offering them the highest offices in the State. Many of the best Chinese are now living beyond the reach of Chinese jurisdiction, in such places as the Foreign Settlements in China, Korea, Japan and other foreign countries. Even those who have accepted official positions at Peking, during the last year, are re-

signing and disappearing from Peking like rats leaving a sinking ship." What a startling and appalling figure! Mr. Drummond could not have chosen a more apt and accurate illustration of actual facts and conditions in Peking. As sure as fate, the stately Ship-of-State is going down with an alarming speed under the Despotie rule of Yuan Shi-kai.

Yuan's Moral Code is Poor

The careful observer feels that Yuan is neither "The Only Man" nor a "Strong Man." False assumptions in the premises will cause errors in the whole train of thought. Those who would persist in taking the reports and views of self-interested partisans will never be convinced of their error. It is inconceivable that Yuan Shi-kai, with a character so impregnated with treachery, duplicity, and cunning, should shine forth as grand old Washington, who taught Europe to resound with "Character is Power." Surely no religion in the world ever taught that malicious vengeance, iniquity and injustice could ever fortify a man for the stern duties of governing a people. Nor has Political Economics ever countenanced the use of base intrigues, scheming, selfish opportunism and political murders and treachery as the policy of administra-

tion. So, in whatever light the "Strong Man of the Orient" is viewed, one cannot find tenderness or softness, but when the X-Ray is turned on our Chinese Hercules, then is revealed the sordidness of his character! The Powers will find that they have been following a chimera, one of those mirages of the Sahara, picturesque but inverted, which, on approaching, vanishes into the desert air!

Recent Cunning Scheming of Yuan Shi-kai

However, the Quintuple Nations are determined to materialize their Ideal; by the camera of the Five Power Loan they reinvert him, and under their deft manipulations he develops into the veritable "Strong Man of the Orient." But remember Necessity is not the "Mother of Inventions" with Yuan Shi-kai; he is the Creator of Necessities. His cunning has set the mark for the Powers to toe. He has many schemes up his sleeve and it is well for the Powers to look sharper, or they will be again the dupe of his cunning. He instigates a bogus riot in the North and thus creates the necessity for his stay in Peking, so that he can better fight the Liberty loving, progressive South; he sends his treacherous agents to incite and make trouble and thus again creates the necessity for sending his un-

civilized hordes to occupy Southern territory ; he outrages humanity and justice by assassinations, by ruthless violation, and trampling upon the people's Rights and Liberty, and creates the necessity for the people to rebel, and when the South was reluctant to see their fair provinces devastated, he actually opens the attack and forces the second Revolution. To advance Yuan Shi-kai is the purpose of all his scheming, and to get the full extent of his desires he would massacre all his opponents, wipe out Parliament, draw up a Constitution giving him the unlimited powers of a Despot, root out the very spirit of Patriotism and Democracy, suppress public sentiment, dragoon the whole Republic, hold down the masses in ignorance and oppression. In the near future the world will be shown the necessity to crown Yuan Shi-kai or his puppet ; because, forsooth, his mouthpiece TU-TUS and other high dignitaries say so ! Finally he creates the necessity for the five Powers to support him by rushing through the Quintuple Loan in the dead of night, by his reckless spending and by the fattening of himself and his coteries he is creating the further necessity for the world to keep China from bankruptcy by giving him new loans. If the Powers "throw good money after bad," then they will find,

at the bitter end, that the Necessities of Yuan Shi-kai are just as insatiable as his ambition for unlimited power. Enough, or our readers will be addled by the wilderness of the Necessities of this prolific creator.

He Calls Foreign Advisers to Get Foreign Support

But some will say that they see by the papers that Yuan Shi-kai seems to be doing everything possible for the Republic; for instance, he has secured a Professor as his adviser in drawing up a "Constitution." True, here again he creates the necessity for your good opinions. His securing of the host of foreign advisers from different countries is similar to his call for Christian prayers; not that he cares or believes in their efficacy, but he values the necessity of foreign support. What a "Constitution" it is! It gives "Liberty" to none but Yuan Shi-kai!

He Calls Himself "President" But He Functions as Dictator

He has persistently called China a Republic and says he is *only* a "President"; but he functions as a Dictator; he has a "Cabinet of fourth-rate men who act as tools and give echo to his voice," and a

Parliament that is practically extinct. He is more autocratic than the Manchus, who established a Board of Censors and privileged them to voice the popular will, and thanked them for their just and trenchant criticisms of the Throne ; he summarily executes senators and representatives who dare to raise their voices. He reminds us of that powerful Minister, Chao-Kao, who in 207 B. C. at the court of Hu-Hai, desiring to ascertain who were likely to oppose his selfish schemes, presented the Emperor with a stag and called it a horse. Those daring to insist that it was not a horse were ear-marked for removal and destruction. Yuan Shi-kai has been presenting China with an Autocracy and calling it a "Republic," with a Tyrant and calling him a "President," and woe betide him that says nay !

**He Is a Trustee of Selfish Vested Interests But He
Exclaims "Vive La Republique"**

Let those who have ears to hear and eyes to see take note : Yuan Shi-kai is the Champion and zealous supporter of corruption, rapacity, greed, bribery, tyranny and despotism ; in fact he is the faithful trustee of all the vested interests of selfish Conservatism. And yet if the Chinese people will but permit him the unholy gratification of all his de-

sires, he will go down to the nether world exclaiming "Vive la republique." We have previously made the assertion that it would have been inexpressibly tragic had the Hero Liberator of his race, Hwang Hsing, submitted to the temptations of Yuan's millions and sacrificed the issue without a struggle; for the conflict was not a struggle for political supremacy, nor was it the South against the North: it was infinitely more! The South was fighting for humanity in an even greater degree than when the Northern States fought for the cause of slave emancipation; the South was fighting for morality, reforms, progress and new ideals, fighting for their Fatherland, fighting for their homes and firesides, and all that is dear to the heart of man! And this was the greatest disappointment, that the modern world has so ignorantly arrayed itself against a great moral struggle: against humanity, fighting to free itself and the country from a deadly incubus. But when passions and prejudices shall have subsided, when reason and justice shall resume their sway, when coming ages shall trace the history of this struggle, then will the merits of these men be weighed in the balance of public opinion, and the impartial judgment of coming generations will find the scale in favour of

Hwang Hsing and his Compatriots. "Wars and rumours of war" are destined to sweep over the land of Cathay. But just so surely as the new moon follows the old moon, so surely as day follows the night, so surely will Yuan Shi-kai fall from the pinnacle of his present power, and the world will be astonished by the tremendous crash of his fall. Then will the land be purged of the abominations, iniquities, avarice, and injustice which have hitherto retarded the growth of Liberty, Progress, and Prosperity; and in no distant future the world will witness a young, vigorous, and regenerated China blossoming forth from the debris of past struggles, revolutions, and wars.

The Great Resourcefulness and Future of China

Long and devastating may be the battles that are before thee, fair Cathay! But thy recuperative powers are unsurpassed, thy national wealth for the eighteen Provinces alone is nearly equal to that of prosperous France, thy natural and mineral resources are unnumbered and yet undrawn upon; and able statisticians assure us that under proper government thy annual revenues can be brought up to the enormous sum of one and a half billion dollars of Chinese currency! Take heart and onward, O People! So surely as thy Moses has seen the

"Promised Land " from afar, thy Joshuas are waiting to conduct thee to its possession. The Republic cannot be built in a day or in a year. It took the United States fifteen years to establish a Republic : eight years of fighting, and seven years for discussions. It was not till the 30th of April, 1789, that George Washington was inaugurated as the first President of the American Republic.

Every hope is before thee, and every promise yet to be attained. Remember, the darkest hours are the harbingers of the brightest day :

" For Freedom's battle once begun,
Bequeath'd by bleeding sire to son,
Though baffled oft, is ever won."

So let courage, perseverance, and sincerity of purpose be thy directing compass ; and liberty, righteousness and justice be thy guiding star. Then,

" Kind Providence, who controls the Hand of Fate,
Will surely be the Pilot of thy Ship of State,
To navigate to destinies sublime and great."

" His purposes will ripen fast, unfolding every hour,
The bud may have a bitter taste, but sweet will
be the flower."

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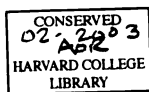
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